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ABSTRACT

Minority perspectives on policy formation, programs, and research in child development are presented in this report, which is divided into four main sections. The first section provides a theoretical review of the concepts of racism in general and institutional racism in particular. It defines institutional racism and discusses the function of institutions. The second section discusses the impact of institutional racism on policy formation in the area of child development. The third section, based on the empirical findings of the authors, describes the impact of institutional racism upon the outcome of child development programming, suggests new approaches for the evaluation of programming consequences, and makes recommendations for increasing federal program benefits for minority groups. The last section examines the fundamental assumptions underlying some of the current research in child development (particularly in relationship to black child development) in these areas: self concept, language behavior, and intelligence. (SET)

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Policy, Programs and Research In Child Development: A Review and Assessment From A Minority Perspective

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OVERVIEW

This report is presented in four chapters, each serving a different function. The first chapter attempts to provide a theoretical review of the concepts of racism in general and institutional racism in particular. It defines institutional racism and discusses the function of institutions. The second chapter discusses the concept of policy and how it relates to the area of child development. The third chapter is a discussion of programming and minority group equity based upon the empirical findings of the authors. Finally, the fourth chapter provides a summary of research in child development in three major areas: self-concept, language behavior, and intellectual functioning. In addition, the applicability of the notion of institutional racism developed earlier in the report is applied to the materials discussed in the second, third and fourth chapters.

CHAPTER ONE

Institutional Racism

Introduction

In order to understand the concept or function of Institutional Racism it is first necessary to define racism. Terry (1970) defines racism as "...any activity by individuals, groups, institutions, or cultures that treats human beings unjustly because of color and rationalizes that treatment by attributing to them undesirable biological, psychological, social, or cultural characteristics (p. 41)." This definition, although intuitively logical, is basically descriptive. Jones (1972) offers a more operational definition: "Racism results from the transformation of race prejudice and/or ethnocentrism through the exercise of power against a racial group defined as inferior, by individuals and institutions with the intentional or unintentional support of the entire culture (p.117)." Race prejudice is prejudice against a racial group, prejudice being defined as "the prior negative judgement of the members of a race or religion or the occupants of any significant social role, held in disregard of facts that contradict it (p. 61)."

Despite the difference in perspective, both definitions of racism have at their heart the same tripartate analysis. These three levels of analysis constitute the three basic spheres in which racism is present: individual, institutional, and cultural. Each successive sphere or level is more abstract and categorical. Any analysis of racism must carefully examine each sphere and realize its multiplicative effect of preceding levels.

Individual racism taken by itself, out of context would be, as Jones sees it, no more than race prejudice. Included in this level of analysis are: attitudes, behaviors, socialization and self-interest. In the context of racist institutions and cultures, additional dimensions of racism are revealed.

Institutional racism is manifest through institutions dealing in or with labor, legal system and rights, health care, economics, education, politics, housing and others. The racist consequences of these sorts of institutions can be (according again to Jones) intentional or unintentional. Intentional in-

stitutional racism represents the institutionalization of the racist desires and values of individuals (poll tax, laws against intermarriage, etc.). Unintentional racist institutions may produce racist consequences in two ways; the first is to function to favor middle- and upper-class people, and the second and more subtle problem concerns the cultural assumptions upon which the institutions themselves are based. As Jones states:

> These assumptions form the bases of institutions which reward individuals insofar as they possess cultural forms and modes of expressions congruent with the institution's value system. It is at this level of practice that most Americans have been insensitive to the problems of racial conflict. (p. 146)

Cultural Racism is expressed through racist conceptions and formulations of aesthetics, religion, music, philosophy, values, needs and beliefs. This sort of racism encompasses both other levels of analysis. It focuses on the values of the culture which are the basis of its institutions. It is through these institutions that the individual members of society are socialized. Not all cultures are racist, however. Van den Berghe clarifies the relation of racism to ethnocentrism:

> First, it is important to stress that racism, unlike ethnocentrism, is not a universal phenomenon. Members of all human societies have a fairly good opinion of themselves compared with members of other societies, but this good opinion is frequently based on claims to cultural superiority. Man's claims to excellence are usually narcissistically based on his own creations. Only a few human groups have deemed themselves superior because of the content of their gonads. Of course, racist cultures have also been ethnocentric, and some peoples have held the theory that their cultures were superior because of their superior genetic pool. But the reverse is not true: many, indeed most, societies have exhibited ethnocentrism without racism.

The relation of all three levels of analysis is not linear, however, but circular. Institutions reinforce and perpetuate the expressions of individual racism. The values of these individuals so reinforced, feed back to form the basic cultural

character in the society. This cultural character is then responsible for the establishment of institutions which socialize individuals and the cycle begins again. Racism is present on all three levels and so serves to perpetuate itself.

I. Institutions and Institutionalization

Having placed the concept of institutional racism in a brief perspective between the individual and cultural levels, it is appropriate to ask whether this concept should be considered as institutionalized racism or institutions which are racist. The answer is clearly both. The difference between the two will be clarified later. Suffice it to say, however, although we have a definition of racism, we have yet to deal with either institutions or institutionalization. Although it may be fruitful to understand the above concepts in general, it is especially important to deal with them at this time because they are necessary to the understanding of institutional racism and the racism of one of the largest institutions of the country, the U. S. Government and its agencies.

Institutions have been variously defined by sociologists historically and currently. The controversy over the basic assumptions of these definitions and the nature of institutions is by no means settled. Kaplan (1960) reviews three types of definitions.

The first set of definitions has two central components. There is the unit of which the institution is comprised (i.e., the rules, cultural patterns, mores, folkways, etc.) and the focus around which the units are organized. In this type of definition the central focus is seen to be some universal social functions or needs (conative needs) which occur in all ordered societies.

The second set of definitions does not acknowledge the universal nature of the conative needs around which institutions are formed. Rather, it deals with such ideas as community or operative institutions. Such institutions would include "associations" which may be little more than organized

groups (e.g., the WCTU or the Boy Scouts). In this set of definitions, behavior patterns may be associated with particular functionaries.

The third set of definitions sees institutions in terms of systems of social relationships and interactions. Parsons views these systems as complexes of institutionalized role integrates. However these institutions also must be organized around basic universal needs. Since the existence of such specific needs is a major bone of contention among students of institutions, the best working definition may be Kaplan's own. He defines institutions as "A complex of status-role relationships which is concerned with a particular area of activity within any specified social system (total or partial) (p.179)." These statuses are socially recognized and defined and must exist independently of the holder of such statuses.

Kaplan's definition is similar in many ways to that of Leger (1952) who views institutions as socially approved methods of solving problems of social relationships (Kaplan's status-role relationships, perhaps) in a given culture. When a problem of interhuman relationships arises, certain standardized modes of behavior are instituted and sanctioned to maintain group values. Social organization is established to teach and enforce these values and their concomitant modes of behavior. Smith (1964) identifies seven elements common to all institutions: 1) norms, 2) structure, 3) stability and persistence, 4) functions, 5) sanctions, 6) regularized social interaction and 7) influencibility of material culture.

According to Irvine (1942), "Institutions arise, (then,) because shared and common wants and needs must be satisfied in a cooperative way. The satisfaction of these needs requires the establishment of a reciprocal pattern of action in terms of which social life may be conducted (p. 8)." Gerth & Mills (1953) classify social institutions in terms of their objective function, the needs they are to meet. Their five institutional orders are 1) political, 2) economic, 3) military, 4) kinship, 5) religion. The institutional orders of a society

together compose the social structure. It is clear that in this country there is great overlap between orders. Certainly public bureaucracies such as government agencies deal in the political, economic and even military orders separately or simultaneously. Angell (1936) observed that all institutions in our culture tend to be fiscal enterprises.

Institutionalization is the process of standardizing, establishing, organizing and sanctioning some particular set of social values, relationships and behaviors. Social life becomes institutionalized as organization stabilizes and activity patterns are fixed. The first step in such an "institutionalizing" sequence is the recognition of a permanent or recurrent conative need. Driven by this need, action is performed. If such action succeeds in transforming an indeterminate situation into a satisfactory one, it may be repeated in similar circumstances. By imitation a group habit will be formed and become crystallized. Members of the group will begin to see the action as indispensible. Such behavior now acquires prescription and rules and the apparatus of agency (sometimes rites and symbolism also accrue). The action is now institutionalized (Irvine, 1942). It is important to note, however, as does Meadows (1967) that the established behavior patterns represent not only expectancies, but also acceptances.

It would seem that acceptance must be defined in terms of the dominant culture and can have little input from "outside" elements. Such sanctions as are used to encourage and enforce "acceptable" behavior then almost by definition can reflect only the values of the dominant members of the culture.

Once institutionalization takes place, the institutions often become personified as the collective superego of society. "Institutions become in men's minds super-human agencies embodying the virtue, wisdom and tradition of a group or race, prescribing conduct and exacting support and loyalty (Irvine, p. 62)."

Participation in institutional behavior can be compulsory, optional or selective. This participation can be at two

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different levels either as an ordinary participant or in a position of leadership or authority. The ordinary participant adheres to the institutional behavior pattern passively and uncritically. Often he is not objective enough to see the organizational pattern as a whole. A leader however is more detached. He views the institution critically and as distinct from himself. He must be more objective in order to mold the institutional behavior of the ordinary participants (Irvine, 1942).

Gerth & Mills (1953) define leadership as "a relation between the leader and the led in which the leader influences more than he is influenced (p. 405)." He plays the "Head role" and speaks for the institution. Much of the leader's authority may come from his image rather than from himself. The leader's role is molded by the context of leadership. In an unstructured situation, he may feel free to impose whatever is his will. If the institution is more structured he is more of an agent of power, a representative of the institution which he leads. Leadership can be role-determined or role-determining. This dichotomy produces three leadership roles in and out of contexts: 1) a "routineer" who just fills an existing role, 2) an "innovator" who creates a new role within the institutional context, and then plays it, 3) a "precursor" who creates a new role, but must leave the group or later groups to play it. Merton (1957) makes the further distinction of two types of what he calls influentials, the "local" who orients himself to the community and the "cosmopolitan" who orients himself to the world. These roles will be very important in understanding how to facilitate institutional change.

Before turning to the question of institutional change, there is the need for some understanding of why institutions persist. First, institutions may persist naturally by continuing to provide satisfaction of a continuing need. Second, they may persist through the transmission of institutional behavior. This transmission may be formal through established (compulsory) educational programs and/or informal through the socialization of young children by their parents or elders and through more

generalized cultural and community pressure. Third, institutions may persist through social conditioning. Similar to the preceding process, social incentives and pressures at all levels reward prescribed behavior. Here the status quo is insured through formal agencies such as education. Fourth, persistence may be accomplished when a norm which expresses the means for satisfaction of needs or ends replaces those ends. In this case although the institutional behavior will persist it has no function. Fifth, institutional behavior may persist through the belief that the institution has an independent impetus. We expect behaviors to continue on their own and through passive resignation support their continuance. Finally, institutions may persist through reinforcement. "Reinforcement of one institution by others gives increased stability because the whole complex of institutional behavior hangs together in such a way that elimination or alteration of any portion of it will influence the functioning of all the rest (Irvine, p. 86)." This is a very important mode of persistence because the understanding of this struggle by institutions to survive for their own sake accounts for a great deal of pessimism by those who like to believe in our ability to control institutional change and so control our institutions.

Briefly, there are four factors which promote institutional change. External factors are changes in the physical environment or composition of the group. Cultural factors are those appliances, techniques or inventions appearing in a culture whose meaning and/or use are established in terms of the living pattern in that culture. Personal factors are the activities, energy and insights of people. Finally Systematic factors are those which spring from instability within the institution caused by the incompatability of two elements in the complex or one internally unstable element (from Irvine).

Assuming that any of the above factors could facilitate institutional change and that the belief that institutions generally are organic (as Durkheim thought) or a gift of Providence

is not true, there remains the problem of the control of institutional change. Only if the force of institutional change can be directed is their hope of changing institutions without having to destroy and rebuild the nation perhaps only to do it again. Clearly the barriers inhibiting control are immense. Some institutional complexes, although clearly dysfunctional, are so bent on their own survival and are so mutually reinforcing as to be virtually invulnerable at this time. As we turn our attention now specifically to racist institutions and institutionalized racism, we must concentrate our efforts not so much on their etiology but rather upon the identification of such institutions and the construction of a battle plan for the siege and reform of these bastions.

II. Institutional Racism

Jones briefly summarizes two relevant aspects of institutional racism:

> Institutional racism has two meanings, then: First, it is the institutional extension of individual racist beliefs; this consists primarily of using and manipulating duly constituted institutions so as to maintain a racist advantage over others. Second, it is the by-product of certain institutional practices which operate to restrict on a racial basis, the choices, rights, mobility, and access of groups of individuals. These unequal consequences need not be intended, but they are not the less real for being simply de facto. (p. 6)

Institutional racism, then, does not refer to one individual or to a group of individuals. It goes beyond that level to deal with the structure of the society. If we make the assumption that blacks and whites were culturally different when they arrived on this continent and the blacks arrived as slaves into an existing (although perhaps still developing) set of political and economic institutions whose value system saw slaves as inately inferior, it is only a small cognitive leap to the conclusion that while institutions saw no need to provide for the conative needs of blacks, indeed, the institution of slavery was a device to use blacks to provide satisfaction for

the needs of whites. It should be mentioned that those institutions which white settlers brought with them (an institution's viability is supposedly related to its portability) were taken from England whose institutions were racist. As the society became more complex and institutions became more interdependent, institutional change became even more difficult. By the time the institution of slavery was abolished legislatively, so many other institutions were interwoven and interdependent that racism continued unimpeded. This applies especially to the institution of the American government and the American economic institutions. Is it any wonder that political and economic institutions are racist both actively through the continued assumption that blacks are inferior and passively by refusing to acknowledge the conative needs of blacks. The only response to blacks by white institutions is through the indirect influence upon the needs of the whites. In some cases whites perceive blacks as threatening, causing the institutions to become more racist, while in other cases whites (dare I say liberals?) who do not perceive blacks as threatening exert pressure on their institutions to encorporate blacks, usually on white terms. The first response produces and perpetuates the first type of institutional racism described by Jones, and the second response by whites (liberals) may produce the second de facto unintentional institutional racism.

Institutional racism, its form often disguised, operates through the respected established and ordered forms of government. Government agencies as arms of existing complex political institutions, usually with elaborate bureaucracies of their own, often are concerned with much more than merely their constituted function. This function may in itself be either intentionally or unintentionally racist. Even if that is not the case, however, institutional racism may be present. Leaders and/or administrators are capable of introjecting their personal intentional or unintentional racism into the prescriptions or fulfillment of institutional behavior. In addition, institutional behaviors must fit at least three criteria in order to be

performed. First they must not jeopardize the survival of the entire institution. Second, in the case of government agencies, the behaviors must not jeopardize the existence of the agency with the institutional structure. Finally and least important is the performance of behaviors to satisfy the needs for which both the institution and the agency were created. Since racism is in general the rule and not the exception in these institutions and this society, racist behaviors often must be performed to fulfill the first two criteria often completely controverting the intended function of the agency or the institution. It is frequently the case that whole institutions evolve their own raison d'être.

Within specific institucional areas often corresponding to agencies, racism exists often in diffused peculiar forms, so interrelated that they exist and operate efficiently and effectively without individual awareness. Knowles (1969) writes:

> Maintenance of the basic racial control is now less dependent upon specific discriminatory decisions. Such behavior has become so well institutionalized that the individual generally does not have to exercise a choice to operate in a racist manner. The rule and procedures of the large organizations have already prestructured the choice. The individual only has to conform to the operating norms of the organization and the institution will do the discriminating for him. (p. 142)

This is an important conscious or unconscious method by which racism destroys those blacks who are in public institutions without open awareness. There may be black sub-systems with their own rules and procedures existing both separate and subordinate to major institutional functions. However, these subsections function on a different pattern often mutually exclusive of the white dominant society, its privileges and advantages. Politics, education, law, legislation, justice, housing, labor, employment and civil rights all have corresponding governmental agencies or institutions. Each must be carefully examined for racist roots, functions and operations. Here are several pertinent examples:

Politics: Baron (1968) looks at blacks in decision-making

positions.:

> The fact is that the number of posts held by Negroes tended to be inversely related to the power vested in these positions - the more powerful these posts, the fewer the Negro policy makers. The actual power vested in Negro policy makers is about one-third as great as the percentage of posts held. (p. 75)

In effect, there is little or no power of the blacks in the higher administrative capacity. Those blacks who have attained that status must officiate within the bounds of the institution in order to maintain the positions.

Economics: The American economic system is considered free, as Jones (1971) states, for anyone who has the money. Without the money, property cannot be bought. Without property, there are no advantages of property ownership. Without these initial gains, there is no access to the business world. The fact that blacks have not been able to earn money has been in part due to the racist roots of education and labor.

Education: Education is a major avenue for mobility and success within this society but as Jones notes, "educational institutions, like all other institutions in this society, reflect racists beginning." These institutions give inferior education to blacks, perpetuating the disadvantage. The 1954 supreme court decision prohibited segregation, encouraging integrated conditions and equal educational opportunity for all. Nearly twenty years later, in the 1970's, denial of real equality still exists. Busing, discrimination of nationwide educational tests (SAT, GRE) are primary issues.

III. Conclusions and Recommendations

Theoretically, based upon present examples of institutional racism reviewed herein, it seems clear that to break the back of this type of racism in America changes must occur on all levels. Because of the reciprocally reinforcing nature of the three levels of racism, institutional racism must be attacked at all levels. The weapons must be the factors which can most efficiently precipitate change.

On the cultural level a cultural attack can be made. In addition to changing attitudes and behaviors, a conscious and pervasive attempt must be made to destroy the hold of the dominant culture upon institutional structure by changing the cultural assumptions which give rise to racist institutions. The "melting pot" image of American society, long outdated, must be forced to give way to the realities of a pluralistic society. This will require greater definition and explication of the cultures of the component groups as well as a clear understanding of how institutions can serve each sub-cultures separately. The dominant culture must then understand the limited and discriminatory applicability of their institutions to other sub-cultures. A truly egalitarian pluralistic culture with fair and effective institutions as well as unprejudiced individual members and leaders can only be established if all cultural partners enter on an equal footing. This goal need not be accomplished through physical separation, but rather through acknowledgment of cultural differences and equality.

On the institutional level an attack may be mounted through the facilitation of the development of systematic and personal factors. Systematic approach would involve the careful scrutiny of each institution both from within and without to insure that it performs only its legitimate function and in an unbiased fashion. This is especially important for large institutions like the U. S. government because such institutions necessarily limit investigation and change by setting down prescribed patterns of investigation or establishing an agency whose job is to perform evaluations but whose survival is dependent upon the continued existence of that institution. Personal factors for change can be facilitated by the training of leaders who can work into institutions. These leaders must be able to seek out or create role-determining positions which will allow them to be "innovators" or "precursors."

Finally on the individual level, people must be educated as to their power in changing their lives. They must learn that cooperation is often better than competition and that ethno-

centrism can deprive one from interesting experiences and people as well as protect them from perceived dangers fostered by competition. They must learn to talk to one another and listen to one another so that future institutions reflect the need for the satisfaction of the common need of a broad based diverse population.

It is true that the above goals may in a sense be served through the destruction of the present social order and its reconstruction, but the forces of violent revolution of the oppressed may serve only to establish a new dominant culture. Our major goal should be the removal of dominance as the major mode of operation for our society and its replacement with the principles of collectivity and reciprocity. We must acknowledge our differences and take strength from them, not attempt to remove them. Only by such a change in cultural assumptions with subsequent assaults on both the individual and institutional levels can the blight of institutional racism be removed.

New viable tactics for change must continually be developed collectively by those involved, not merely through the paternalism of the dominant culture group but through equal participation.

Terry (1970), for instance, suggests the concept of a new white consciousness as a primary agent for change within the dominant group in this society. New white consciousness essentially involved the reconstruction of whites through their awareness of the multiplicity of racism, discerning alternatives for its elimination, and refining personal life styles congruent with these new values. Though the anguish of change cannot be as great for them, minority groups must strive for the same goal. A similar life style should be established through which the underlying philosophy of acceptance and understanding of each other's culture as well as one's own permeates. The collective ideology, then, for each individual and group of individuals is respect for each culture with the establishment of equality among all.

CHAPTER TWO

The Impact of Institutional Racism On Policy Formation

National policy on a wide range of questions and programs relating to children has been broadly affected by the White House Conference on Children held in this century. We will describe the slow shift in view-point over seven such conferences from one concerned with the right of the child to safety, health, education despite economic necessity, to one which is more exact and pertinent and which explicitly includes the varied needs of the minority group child.

We must see the development in White House Conference recommendations against the backdrop of shifts in the roles of those who make up American society. Apparently, part of the very nature of institutionalized action and behavior is that such sanctioned workings are acceptable to the controlling culture which formalized the operating institutions themselves. Individuals, and society in the aggregate, strive to insure that institutions survive, but to do so their policies and that which flows from them must be basically acceptable to the culture as a whole. Societies and the way in which they operate can change. The push for change (and its chance of success) are likely to be in those areas where the need for it verges on the imperative and where there is reasonable hope that the culture as a whole will accept it.

In our view such an imperative, and a willingness to truly deal with the results of it, is not seen by American society in the unmet needs of Black people, including children, or in the constricting truth of its individual, institutional and cultural racism. Despite the change in stated concerns and goals of the White House Conference on Children as they explicitly embrace the rights of minority children, it is our belief that the real battle has been over society's ability to deal with the shifting role of women and the family. The changes in the role of American women (and necessarily in that of the family) has been an imperative and has been one with which society can be expected to cope, however complicated and bitter the battle.

At the most apparent level, racism in policy formation on children has existed because the background and stuff of the battle was over something else and Black and other racial minorities' concerns simply were not worth real attention by members of the dominant group. The rights of Blacks and others have variously been ignored and have been used as pawns while the game has been about something else altogether. Vastly reinforced, for broadly historical reasons and for ones of practical institutional survival, racism (conscious and unconscious) sounds right, patriotic and inevitable to the controlling American culture which has never really been influenced by a supposed "melting pot" effect of exposure to physically and culturally different populations. Therefore, references to "all children" and similar all-embracing phrases in policy pronouncements have a largely unanalyzed (by either the personnel of governmental institutions or by the society which supports them) foundation of racism. This may act to exclude certain whole groups of children from governmental programs designed to affect education, health, and so forth or to treat minority groups differently without any objective scrutiny of such procedures as school tracking, identifying the uneducable, ordering youngsters to be institutionalized, etc.

The principal element in the half century shift and reemphasis of our concerns about children has been the background change in the role of women and of how they related to their families. The real struggle on the policy level is over whether American white middle-class women will be able to gain acceptance for themselves in new roles in society without continuing to have the primary and long-run responsibility for child care. A multilevel battle has been going on and continues to take place. Voting, working, newly psychologically liberated and becoming capable of economic independence, the American white middle-class woman and mother is struggling with herself and with society at large as she tries to redefine her role. First of all there is the question of the general acceptance of the morality of a shift of women and mothers away from the

principal responsibility for child care in the home. The message of President Nixon when he vetoed the Comprehensive Child Development Act of 1971 was a clear articulation of popular opinion. In the veto message Nixon said: "I must share the view of those of its supporters who proclaim this to be the most radical piece of legislation to emerge from the 92nd Congress.....(it) would commit the vast moral authority of the national government to the side of communal approaches to child rearing against the family-centered approach." The majority opinion on really comprehensive child development programs still seems to be negative or, at best ambiguous. However, an attempt to over-ride the presidential veto fell only seven votes short of success and it is reasonable to suppose that the forces requiring comprehensive day care will be strong enough to achieve it.

Day care centers, particularly the publically supported ones, have fluctuated in number in response to such crises as the Depression, World War and the need for women in the labor force and most recently, women's liberation. Seldom have the needs of or benefits to children themselves been a major consideration in policy formation in this area. Thus, the institutional racism inherent in the situation has been abetted by a massive discrimination against all children. Since policy formation on child care has followed the dictates of adult needs, it should not really surprise us that public welfare and day care are closely allied. As white middle-class America has struggled to reconcile itself to its own need for publicly supported day care, programs have actually operated, with vastly inadequate funding, to try to remove Black mothers from the public welfare rolls. There has never been anything like enough money to serve all children and the profound bias has been to link welfare and public child care. In modern America, this racist coupling inevitably involves primarily minority group families.

Assuming some, perhaps really widespread, sympathy among white middle-class women for comprehensive day care which will serve them, the real battle is over how to reconcile these

feelings and actions with what they and others have come to expect of their roles. Thus, they cannot accept turning their children over to state agencies - the kind that they see through racist eyes as serving the poor and the Black. For these women, whose needs will be met as institutionalized racism operates in its familiar role in policy formation, the child care centers established must be private - even though state supported. These white women have the power (and this ability is racist, too) to insist that they be assured that their children will receive certifiably superior treatment in educational terms. This assurance will allay their guilt feelings in abandoning their traditional role.

In discussing the effect of institutional racism on policy in the Office of Child Development, we have sought to analyze briefly the recommendations of the White House Conferences on Children which have been held once in each decade starting in 1909. These conference reports are useful benchmarks for illustrating the broad sweep of policy aims as formulated by professionals most closely concerned with issues seen to concern children. They form an interesting view of their times.

The 1909 Conference on the Care of Dependent Children saw itself as charged with a concern for "the condition and needs of each destitute child." The letter to Theodore Roosevelt summarizing the recommendations of the conference noted: "We now know so little about them (destitute children) as not even to know their number, but we know that there are in institutions about 93,000, and that many additional thousands are in foster or boarding homes." The report continued: "...each of these children is entitled to receive humane treatment, adequate care, and proper education...." The conference recommended that the life of destitute children "...should be as nearly as possible like the life of the other children in the community." In conclusion the establishment was recommended of a federal children's bureau "...to collect and disseminate information affecting the welfare of children."

The Children's Bureau Conference on Child Welfare Standards

was held in May, 1919. It considered the broad questions of (1) Child labor and education, (2) Public protection of the health of mothers and children, and (3) Children in need of special care. The minimum standards which the conference set were concerned with such things as minimum age for employment; employment certificates; maternity centers for all women not under the care of a private physician; health and recreation needs of children and the wide area of children in need of special care. As in 1909, it was stressed that children should be cared for in their own homes or in a foster home "...as nearly normal as possible, to safeguard his health, and to insure for him the fundamental rights of childhood." The latter were broadly described as "...normal home life, opportunities for education, recreation, vocational preparation for life, and moral, religious, and physicial development in harmony with American ideals and the educational and spiritual agencies by which these rights of the child are normally safeguarded." Among the general minimum economic and social standards "...fundamental to the realization of any child welfare program" was included "...the abolition of racial discrimination."

The 1930 White House Conference on Child Health and Protection listed a series of recommendations much like the conferences which had gone before it. These were concerned with such areas as health, safety, education and care for the handicapped. Included also were references to concerns of a newer nature. The Children's Charter pledged itself to achieving "For every child understanding and the guarding of his personality as his most precious right..." and "For younger children nursery schools and kindergartens to supplement home care." All nineteen enumerated items were sought "FOR EVERY CHILD...REGARDLESS OF RACE, OR COLOR, OR SITUATION, WHEREVER HE MAY LIVE UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE AMERICAN FLAG."

The White House Conference on Children in a Democracy, held in January, 1940, issued a final report which noted that any analysis of its contents would reveal that almost none of the recommendations were in any way ground-breaking or novel. Rather

they were largely "...proposed expansions and improvements in activities that are already part of our way of life." What was novel, however, was the degree to which the government (especially the federal government) was called upon to act on questions which were raised. The report said that it was a "fundamental conviction" of the Conference that "...public responsibility has been expanding and is bound to occupy a position of importance in the future of American culture far beyond that which it held in the past." The Conference further said that it believed that governmental action was "...not detrimental to individual initiative, that it promotes rather than retards democracy...." A section on Children in Minority Groups was included in the report, but it dealt with only the broadest of concerns in the most general of ways, e.g., social agencies, labor organizations, political parties should not discriminate on the basis of race and practices which limit the right to vote of minority group members should be corrected. Another section urged that the federal government accept responsibility for the children of migrant workers and their families. The 1940 report stated that the opportunity for every family to earn an adequate income is basic to the preservation of the democratic life and to the acceptance of its ideals by American children. The nation's children, furthermore, must be able to look forward to improving economic conditions for themselves and in turn for their children. A function of government in a democracy, members of the conference concluded, is to safeguard the economic opportunities of the families of the nation. As noted above in respect to the scope of the public role, it was emphasized that government also has responsibilities for assuming adequate provision of necessary public services to children. In conclusion, therefore, although the focus of the conference's findings was widened and although for the first time a specific section dealt with children in minority groups, the brunt of the total message is only a slight extension of the race, color or situation addendum to the 1930 Children's Charter.

The 1950 Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth noted that it convened in "...a time of crisis, posing the

very issue of survival..." and spoke "To you, our children, who hold within you our most cherished hopes...." This feeling of a precarious present and of the necessity for protecting and nurturing children as the hope of tomorrow is strongly reflected in the platform adopted by the conference. For the first time there is detailed reference to the ingredients involved in child development without any explicit reference to the child's future role. Social and economic realities, as they affect the situation of children, were recognized and listed as they never had been before. To take just the example of the discussion given to housing and community development, references were made to low rent public housing, cooperative housing, slum clearance, urban development and redevelopment programs. The final Consensus of the conference included as item # 2 the belief that "All services, programs, and facilities for children and young people should be provided without discrimination as to race, creed, color or national origin." This racial statement for the first time reflects a feeling about the immorality of unequal treatment.

In the 1960 Golden Anniversary White House Conference an entire section of the conference recommendations is devoted to Human Rights, calling for abolition of discriminatory practices in education, housing, employment and places of public accommodation.

Resolution # 513, which deals with future White House Conferences and follow-up committees, stated: "That the National Council of State Committees take appropriate action to insure that no State will exclude Negroes from its official delegation to future White House Conferences, as two Southern States did in naming delegates to the Golden Anniversary White House Conference; and further, that the National Council of State Committees take action to insure that the membership of each State's follow-up committee includes minority groups reflecting the racial composition." The general thrust of these ideas was reinforced in recommendations # 639-657 under the heading "The Minority." "The Minority" concludes a series of sections which refer to other groups including "The Multiple Handicapped," "The Dependent

and Neglected,"."The Adopted" and "The Migrant." The impression of detached superiority conveyed by this lumping together of human beings by major problem is staggering.

The White House Conference on Children held in 1970 produced an extensive, varied and sophisticated report. Included were a lengthy discussion of the Myths of Education, chapters on Children Without Prejudice and The Child Advocate and considerable bibliographic references among many other topics relating to children. In reference to prejudice the conference report said: "We know prejudice is not inborn and that it rarely appears in children before the age of two or three years. It is often a product of conflict and fear and has its real roots in an anti-human attitude - the urge to destroy the humanness of another individual (p. 295)." After a catalogue of children with various problems, including children from "minority groups in ghetto areas," the conference noted: "While many factors contribute to the plight of such children and youth, certainly one significant cause is the absence of a system responsible for securing the basic rights guaranteed them under our Constitution. These children need an advocate.(p. 389)." In describing such an advocate, the report went on to say: "He not only is an advocate for individual children who seek his help or come to his attention, but he also has the duty to seek out those unable to ask for help (p. 391)."

It is not our intention to imply that members of the 1970 White House Conference on Children were racist in intention or in results in preparation of the conference report. As noted it is a varied and sophisticated effort which reflected much consideration of social, economic and psychological analyses of minority group problems now generally discussed in interested circles. So meticulous, and perhaps scientific to a fault, were the staff people responsible for putting the conference report together, that they computed a ranked list by weighted vote of overriding concerns as expressed in delegate voting on major recommendations. The balloting results were certified by a Washington, D. C. accounting firm. Under this fairly elaborate

system the conference recommendation "second in overriding concern both in weighted votes and in the number of total first place votes"was "The development of programs to eliminate the racism which cripples all children."

However, let us at the moment simply note that the White House Conference which produced some real and seriously thought out concerns about children including those belonging to minority groups was followed within twenty-four months by a White House leadership which instigated the redirection of Head Start away from any indiginous community control and by a White House leadership which vetoed the Comprehensive Child Development Act of 1971.

Without belaboring the point of this review of the seven White House Conferences on Children held since 1909, one can observe that the central thrust of the recommendations from each of these conferences dealt with the welfare of all children. Inasmuch as any special concern was expressed for Black children, it was that they should not be denied the same benefits as other children because of their race and although steps were not taken to see that equal protection and opportunity for all children became a reality, in the mid-sixties the emphasis began to shift substantively to early childhood with particular attention to social and psychological development.

The final report of the 1966 White House Task Force on Early Childhood entitled A Bill of Rights For Children included the following concerns in this connection. What is needed is more concern for the conditions of early child development, but it is not merely more money or more manpower, important as these are. We need remedial programs to correct the damage that has been done in earlier years; we need preventive measures; we need to provide new measures to foster intellectual and motivational development. What is needed above all, however, is the utilization of our existing resources for the creation of new types of social institutions which will help the 60% of urban families and neighborhoods to exercise once again their unequaled potential power to foster the growth of children into healthy, competent,

happy and responsible members of society. (p. 5)

Further, problems in the care of children in their own families especially focused on the inadequacy of the home environment in poor (Black) families to foster intellectual development. The most modern conventional wisdom, reflected in that 1966 A Bill of Rights For Children, believed that parents in deprived economic circumstances lack knowledge of the proper strategies of child rearing and child development and the economic resources to practice them or some combination of them. Programs to make these necessary conditions available should begin and should be extended, the task force concluded with its recommendation of Head Start and of Follow Through.

"Observers who have not grown up in America are often perplexed by the ability of the white mind to remain impervious to racial realities," says James P. Comer, M. D., in his study Beyond Black and White. Indeed to some, Dr. Comer says, this may appear to be an indication of mental illness. His own belief, he says, is now this: "I now understand the phenomenon not as mental illness, but as a kind of collective defect in the national ego and superego; a blind spot that permits otherwise intelligent people to see, think and act in a racist way without the expected level of guilt and pain. The syndrome is what I call the white mind." (James P. Comer, M. D., Beyond Black and White. Quadrangle Books: New York, 1972, p. 117.)

Institutional racism and its effect on policy can accurately be defined we believe as an extension of Comer's definition of the "white mind." This dead spot or "collective defect in the national ego and superego" is amply revealed in the White House Conferences on Children which we have reviewed. No national guilt has been generated by the fact that the recommendations dealing with minority group children of the more recent conferences have not been met. The realities of lack of action have demonstrated that public interest (a powerful method of policy formulation, if truly felt) is neutral in the matter of concerns of Black and other minority group children, despite much evidence that Black survival calls for extreme advocacy. It can be argued that even the most recent conference in 1970, the

fullest in respect to Black concerns, was hampered from effectiveness by the variety of interests discussed and by the lack of a sharp focus on priority programs to be attacked. Certainly the Presidential leadership in the White House did nothing to implement the recommendations and, in fact, acted counter to the conference experts.

It must also be remembered that institutional racism in policy making as it affects Black children's problems is made deeper and stronger by the general indifference in this country to the needs, concerns and rights of all children. When these concerns become a real part of adult problems (and necessarily of white adult problems) then one sees a meaningful approach to the provision of such facilities as day care centers so that white women can work and mother at the same time.

One illustration of how racism is effectively used to alter, redirect and perhaps even succeed in scuttling a program designed for Blacks and other disadvantaged groups is supplied by the Child Development Associate program. An analogy to the racist subversion possible in such a program can be seen by a look at the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 which called for an On-The-Job-Training program. The notion was that there must be many Black and other minority group workers who were unemployed but who could be trained to fill existing job needs in the economy. Therefore, it was stipulated that greater than 50% of the enrollees in OJT programs would be minority group members although it was never substantiated that a reservoir of out-of-work trainable people for available jobs really existed. Then, and here the crushing hand of white racism conscious or no was fully revealed, the jobs were to be found through the offices of the United States Employment Service and the program supervision was to be done by the Department of Labor's Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training. The Employment Service, of course, was the very agency which has failed so spectacularly to serve the job needs of minority group people and the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training is staffed by individuals most of whom have come up through the Building Trades

Unions of the Organized Labor movement, whose international unions still had racially restrictive clauses in their constitutions. A blind spot or deliberate? It does not matter. The fact remains that the program was set up with these features from the beginning.

In much the same way that there was a feeling that On-The-Job-Training would solve a problem posed by the non-white population, so it is believed that there is a need for more teachers of young Black children which can be met through the creation of the Child Development Associate program. The thought is that individuals without enough formal training for professional certification, but with capabilities demonstrated by performance or testing, can be licensed to practice as Child Development Associates. This program is actually being shaped by the desires of white mothers for adequate care for their children. Again, a program is designed to solve a problem, but the mechanism set up to effect it cannot effect the solution.

CHAPTER THREE

Child Development Programming and Minority Group Equity

Introduction

"Institutional racism" emerged as an analytical construct in the wake of renewed efforts launched by minority groups* in mid-twentieth century America to alter their subordinated position and status. The term has triggered self-analysis, defensiveness and backlash reaction, but there have been only rare attempts to objectively assess its implications for the functioning of the nation's institutions in the past and present and for policy and programming alternatives in the future.

Moreover, recent public debate would appear to suggest that "institutional racism" has no further applicability or usefulness as a tool of critical inquiry. Certain assumptions underlie the current rhetoric which strike at the heart of the construct's validity. Basic among them is the interpretation that racism either no longer exists in the nation, or is no longer a factor of significance.

Accordingly, in one view minority groups already possess the requisite resources with which to participate equitably in a pluralistic democracy, and hence compensatory treatment for them at this juncture actually constitutes "special privilege." Conversely, the present inequitable distribution of power, access, opportunity and resources among America's racial and ethnic groups is acceptable in the short-term and/or is considered eventually eradicable over time, given the present rate of

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*Minority groups are herein defined as those racial or "pseudo-racial" groups which have been victims of institutional racism as defined subsequently, in the American societal context, and whose members are collectively subordinated and disadvantaged as a result. Minorities thus include Blacks, American Indians, Spanish-speaking groups, Asian-Americans (who so identify themselves) and others. They do not include women who do not constitute a minority, or youth whose status is temporal. Moreover, membership in neitner of the latter groups is racially determined.

"social progress." Clearly, these arguments, whether expressed for reasons of selfish group interest or political expedience, cannot withstand objective analysis, as will be demonstrated subsequently. But the fact that they are echoed at the highest levels is symptomatic of the critical need for debate, analysis and evaluation, from the vantage point of the supposed "beneficiaries" of social planning, of officially sanctioned goals, value bases, policies, and programs offered as solutions.

Leading from this perspective and recognizing the increasingly significant role of the federal government in defining issues, setting priorities, proposing solutions, distributing resources and in general, maintaining an "equilibrium" among various social forces, the focal point of our inquiry will be the activities and operations of federal agencies, the implementors of national public policy. Among these, of special interest are those bureaucracies which administer and/or support child development programs, for they represent for various reasons targets for creative research, policy and programming in the seventies. First, a major expansion in this area can be expected, given the stated commitments of both political parties and the escalating demand for child care services in recent years. In addition, because there is insufficient knowledge about program results to date and the conflicting interests of warring political forces have yet to be reconciled, child-related goals are still somewhat in flux and have yet to be concretized through major child development legislation. Finally, child development and related programs have the potential for significant impact, both positive and negative, upon the lives of children, their families and the communities of which they are a part.

Two themes reoccur throughout the document of which this chapter is a part. It is valid, given the history and reality of inter-group relations in the American Republic, to recognize the existence of an unique perspective from the vantage point of America's dispossessed minorities - a validity to which the theoretical discussion below attests. Moreover, there is a

clear inter-relationship between child development research, policy and programming activities in federal agencies, and viable strategies for change must address all three dimensions.

The specific task of this chapter is to describe the impact of institutional racism upon those key decision-making processes which affect the outcome of child development programming, to suggest new approaches for the evaluation of programming consequences, and to make recommendations for the maximization of federal program benefits for minority groups.

I. Institutional Racism and Federal Programming: Applicability of The Concept

Introduction

"Institutional racism" is a construct which requires considerable elaboration, for it necessitates not only a clarification of the nature and meaning of "institutions" and "institutionalization" but also the examination of "racism" as an independent phenomenon. In addition, all of these concepts must be reviewed for their applicability in assessing the activities of federal bureaucracies in general and of federal child development programming in particular.

A. Federal Bureaucracies as Formal Institutions

Institutions have been conceptualized in various ways, ranging from macroscopic approaches, as in Gerth & Mills' classification of "institutional orders"[1] to definitions which encompass "sets of particularized practices" which have gathered around a dominant interest ("the Olympic games," "trial by jury"). Federal agencies clearly meet such specifications, both as extensions of the political structure of the nation and as durable expressions of collective and/or special group interests.

In addition, federal agencies are bureaucracies, characterised generally not only by the elements commonly viewed as institutional prerequisites,[2] but also typified by the formal and hierarchial interactions of large numbers of individuals who perform structured organizational roles.[3] Thus they are formal institutions possessing the potential for significant sustained impact upon the human lives they touch.

B. Racism as an Institutional Phenomenon

Three distinct yet inter-related components constitute the complex phenomenon known as racism. Fanon, Sartre, Kovel and Memmi have been among those who have explored the psyche of the

individual racist, a subject which will not be treated in depth here. Nor does space permit a comprehensive analysis of the ideological ("cultural") dimension of racism as examined by Van den Berghe, Kelsey, Bastide and Jones. It is rather the institutional aspect of racism that primarily concerns us, the process through which the phenomenon becomes a part of the underpinnings of a culture.

Of course, the role of individuals can hardly be ignored, for racism is essentially created from the interplay between individuals and institutions to which they have access. It can never be forgotten that racism is a matter of choice, made by those who have power to impose their will. The deliberateness with which such choices are made is illustrated by the piecemeal construction in the seventeenth century of the ediface of slavery in the colonies of the New World, which was facilitated and shaped by the interaction of the settlers' racial predilections, their perceived economic opportunities and their access to political institutions.[4]

Nor does the symbiotic relationship end once racism is entrenched. The phenomenon is maintained by individuals who derive real or perceived benefits from its impact.[5] Victims of unmanageable inner conflicts and personal insecurities also play key roles as "true believers" and apostles for the cause. Racism is further sustained by those who lend their prestige and talents to its rationalization and popularization.[6] And clearly, if racism is to be eradicated, the action of individuals will be responsible for its demise.[7]

But the process of institutionalization also serves to limit options for such individual action. Once racism is expressed through institutions, individual biases become "group habit" as values, relationships and behaviors are standardized and sanctioned. Thus, institutions ultimately offer a framework of meanings and values which is all the average man has available for making choices in all aspects of his life.[8] Baron describes the process in this fashion:

Maintenance of the basic racial controls is now

> less dependent upon specific discriminatory decisions. Such behavior has become so well institutionalized that the individual generally does not have to exercise a choice to operate in a racist manner. The rules and procedures of the large organizations (institutions) have already prestructured the choice. The individual only has to conform to the operating norms of the organization and the institution will do the discriminating for him.[9]

It is this process which occasions the description of racism as "unintentional." That is not to say that there are not numerous instances of overt racism in modern America. There can be little question that the rules continue to function differently for certain minority groups as they seek access to schools, neighborhoods, lending institutions or political office. But as the institution becomes identified with the culture, embodying "the virtue, wisdom and tradition of a group or race,"[10] racism also serves as an unseen filter, screening reality in accordance with unconscious standards of "normalcy" and "order," which are defined in racial terms.

How then, once becoming "invisible" in this manner, can the effects of racism be identified? The construct of "indirect institutional subordination because of color" (or "institutional subordination"), amplified by Anthony Downs provides a useful tool for objective analysis.

> Institutional subordination is placing or keeping persons in a position or status of inferiority by means of attitudes, actions, or institutional structures which do not use color itself as the subordinating mechanism, but instead use other mechanisms indirectly related to color.]]

Racism's impact then is determined by <u>results</u>, not by intent. Accordingly, if in a given society, racial groups are predictably stratified in an inferior position on the social scale, racism has permeated a nation's institutions. In such a circumstance, racial minorities will receive a much smaller share of what society has to offer than would be the case if race were not a determining factor.

There is of course an alternative explanation for the presence of racial inequality in a society. It is hardly a new assumption that racial groups are inherently inferior and

that their subordinated position and status simply reflect that reality. It is this belief in fact that was responsible for the imposition of racism from the outset, and for its overt expression over three hundred years of American history. But the acceptance of such a view in twentieth cnetury America has critical implications for the reassessment of the nation's founding principles. For the social analyst can hardly escape the question of the applicability of standards of morality and equity. Compensatory action, in the form of mechanisms to produce proportional representation of minorities in various aspects of American life in which they are presently underrepresented, has been proposed as the chief means of redressing the present inequitable imbalance in access, opportunity and resources among racial groups. Those who eschew such an approach have yet to demonstrate on the one hand, how equity can be achieved through the "business as usual" operation of existing institutional rules and procedures which continue to have subordinating results. Conversely, they have yet to provide a convincing explanation why equity and justice are not desirable in theAmerican Republic or how racial stratification can continue to be sanctioned in a nation dedicated at least theoretically to the belief that all men are created equal.

C. Institutional Racism and Federal Programming

A result-oriented interpretation of institutional racism leads inevitably to a concern about society's overall performance as measured in benefits made available to different racial groups. "This...concern focuses primarily on the equity performance of the economic engine of society as well as on various major institutions, the equity consequences of the political and social organizational rules of society, and the equity impact of our public program decisions."[12]

In order to provide a framework for assessing societal consequences for minorities, key aspects of public programming are defined in this section. Then, drawing from previous theoretical discussions, the influence of racism upon these key

decision points is assessed. Finally, the strengths and limitations of existing concepts for the description and evaluation of positive and negative consequences of public programming are examined as a prelude to the formulation from the perspective of minority groups of a more comprehensive and relevant evaluative approach.

1. What is Programming?

One of the risks encountered by theorists as they attempt to describe and conceptualize the functions of organizations is the possibility of failing to capture the dynamism of real world processes and interactions.

One can distinguish for example, as Litchfield appears to do, precisely between the making of decisions which are reflected in policies and the activity designed to implement decisions or programming.[13] Or programming can be conceptualized more broadly and realistically to encompass a range of activities in which decision-making plays an essential role.[14] For purposes of this study, federal programming is defined as the operationalization of broad policy, i.e. the administrative processes through which federal resources are mobilized for the accomplishment of specified goals and objectives. Programming then involves all activities occurring in time between the articulation of general goals and objectives as broad policy guidelines and the delivery of the end products of that enunciated policy to recipients.[15]

Clearly, following this formulation, decision-making takes place not just initially but throughout the operationalization process. Accordingly, the following have been identified as decision-making junctures of particular significance. Not coincidentally, as shall be demonstrated, these key processes of consequence are also areas of particular vulnerability to racism's direct and indirect effects.

2. Critical Programming Processes

a) Policy Formulation

The intricacies and nuances of policy-making are deserving of separate consideration and in fact are treated fully in a chapter elsewhere in this volume. We are not dealing however with a one-time process which is isolated to a particular set of circumstances. Governmental policy can originate for example in various ways - in the legislative sphere as the result of the enactment of statutes, and in the private sphere, as the result of the activities of a variety of special interest groups. However, the major source of policy formulation is the executive branch, conducted by appointed and career public servants.[15a] Emmerich's discussion of the process is instructive:

> ...the high government official must have the statutory mind. An important element of his job consists of formulating with precision the often vague purpose expressed in authorizing legislation. The complex and technical content of modern legislation is delegated to the executive branch. Every executive agency is, therefore, quasi-legislative in nature.[16]

Policy formulation as a programming activity becomes then the translation of general policy guidelines in operational terms. There are several steps involved: problem definition, the selection of available options, and the making of policy choices, i.e., the delineation of program goals and objectives.

1. Problem Definition

Whether one defines this phase as "the identification of situations or ills to move away from"[17] or the perception of "some blockage of purposeful activity"[18] there is little disagreement among organizational theorists that "detecting the problem is as important as finding the answer." Drucker in fact goes on to say: "the most common source of mistakes in management decisions is the emphasis on finding the right answer rather than the right question....The first job in decision-making is therefore to find the real problem and to define it."[19]

2. Search for Alternatives

Just as there are alternative problem statements, there are also alternative ways of resolving problems once identified. "In either case the choosing is a process of resolving conflicts among conflicting considerations, people, or groups."[20]

Anthony Downs, in a detailed theoretical analysis of bureaucratic decision-making, notes various factors which impinge upon the search of alternatives, among them the decision-makers own biases and perceptions of self-interest, the pressure of time, the number of persons brought into the decision-making process, and the diversity of their views.[21] Gross also observes the strong pull of the "customary" in limiting the variety of options available as policy alternatives.[22] However, sophisticated search activity can also involve the utilization of a number of techniques to expand the range of options available, including planning,[23] program analysis[24] and research, demonstration and evaluation activity.

3. The Choice

Clearly, both the earlier processes of problem definition and statement and the search for alternatives contribute to the delineation of policy choices. Ideally, an integration of conflicting values, as reflected in the different alternatives under consideration, has been achieved in this final stage of policy formulation. However, most decision-makers, in bureaucracies in particular, do not arrive at such "decisive turning points" but rather make "incremental" choices in accordance with shifting values and objectives. The results of these choices are reflected in programmatic goals and objectives, however, and thus are worthy of scrutiny in the sense that they may represent a commitment to further sequences of action and may limit or determine the nature of future alternatives.[25]

b) Planning

Just as planning often plays an important role in the

policy formulation phase, it is also a key step in the actualization of that policy once it has been sufficiently concretized to permit follow-up action. Various options are available. The policy may be so explicit and time pressures so severe that "line" administrators themselves devise plans for immediate implementation, as was the case in the Office of Economic Opportunity in 1965. The more typical solution, however, is to establish specialized planning positions or planning units to which the development of short- and/or long-range programming blueprints may be entrusted. These may be a staff, intra- or inter-agency task forces, ad hoc panels, commissions, consultants or outside contractors.

The importance of planners can be easily overestimated. As Gross has noted, planning "often yields plans that can never be activated or that serve as obstacles to or even substitutes for action."[26] There is also considerable documentation of the resistance of planning specialists encountered from line administrators. But that resistance is also testimony to the potential of planning as a significant programming activity, which can result in justifications for the allocation of programming resources.[27]

c) Organization

"If any thesis emerges from the previous chapters, it is that in the choice of institutional types and structural arrangements we are making decisions with significant political implications."[28] Seidman's concluding observation in Politics, Position and Power emphatically underscores the importance of organization as a subject of analytical interest. Schneier not only concurs, but further conceptualizes organizations and structures as mobilizations of bias, "products of previous group struggles."[29]

Procedural rules too "are products of the political process."[30] Generally conservatively biased and favoring the status quo, "they are almost never neutral in their application."[31] Schmid

attests to the significance of government rules in particular, noting that rulemaking as well as expenditure decisions have similar resource allocation and equity effects.[32] Thus, decision-making regarding bureaucratic organization, structure and rules clearly has implications for programming activities and consequences.

d) Budgeting

There is no more compelling testimony to the significance of budgeting as a key programming process than the widespread adoption of the tools and techniques of the Planning Programming Budgeting System (PPB).[33] Similarly, the status enjoyed by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget and the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors as primus inter pares in relation to the heads of other executive departments,[34] is a further indication of the significance of the allocation of governmental budgetary resources as a programming activity. In short, budgets are significant program documents which not only reflect program choices previously made,[35] but also serve to constrain the range of programming alternatives available in the future.[36]

e) Staffing

The key role of the individual in shaping programmatic decisions can hardly be disputed. The following propositions would appear to be axiomatic:

> Every (bureaucratic) official is significantly motivated by his own self-interest even when acting in a purely official capacity.[37]
>
> Each official is biased in favor of those policies or actions that advance his own interests or the programs he activates, and against those that injure or simply fail to advance those interests or programs.[38]
>
> While constant in basic structure, the administrative process will vary in important aspects, depending upon the personality of the persons performing it.[39]

It is clear moreover that the more highly placed an individual is in a hierarchical structure of formal authority (e.g., bureaucracies) the more able he is to make decisions of significance, which shape the direction and influence the outcome of programming activities. However, not all emphasis should be placed, when assessing bureaucracies, upon those who occupy top positions of leadership. The conceptualization of the decision-making process as one of "disjointed incrementalism" clearly suggests the need to assess the role of individuals who participate at various organizational levels.

Braybrooke and Lindloom write:

> Where a decision affecting an incremental change does indeed seem to fall within a recognized competence - rather than to depend largely on imponderables or preferences - the decision is often delegated to a specialized group; engineers, economists, physicians, accountants - or one or another subgroup of that very large and internally differentiated group of experts on small policy decisions, the public administrators. We can say, therefore, that for decisions of the second quadrant, the decision-maker is typically not at the highest levels of the government bureaucracy and may be a professional specialist of some sort.[40]

Results of an intriguing study of the communication networks operating in the offices of city managers in North Carolina also bear out the influence of those subordinates who have access to the official in charge.[41] Formulae have also been devised to show that as the result of distortion and "authority leakage," only little over one-half of what the organization does at lower levels will be aimed at accomplishing the "leader's" original goals.[42]

Yet another aspect of the staffing question bears mention. Decentralization of decision-making is inevitable, given the number and diversity of day-to-day decisions required by recent social legislation. There is no guarantee however that decision-makers in decentralized public programs are prepared to act in ways that are consistent with overall programs, plans and objectives. Indeed, without incentives, commonality of action can hardly be guaranteed.[43] Thus, an assessment of the activities of staff in decentralized locations to whom decision-making

authority has been delegated also constitutes an important aspect of any programming analysis. Finally, the activity of certain groups and individuals who carry public responsibility, can be considered as adjunt staffing activity. Consultants, "peer group review panels," advisory councils and outside contractors, whose inputs are requested and considered before decisions are finalized, thus may well be viewed as important participants in the programming process.

f) Communication

There are various ways to conceptualize communications as a programming activity. Horland for example has focused attention on "cues," responses to them and the laws and principles governing their interaction.[44] Others have classified communication processes by distinguishing "formal," "subformal" and "personal" aspects,[45] or have assessed bureaucratic aspects such as communication costs, distortion and antidistortion factors.[46] Whatever the approach, however, there would appear to be general agreement with the proposition that: "The effectiveness of a programmed decision will vary with the extent to which it is communicated to those of whom action is required."[47]

g) Research and Demonstration

We have noted that inputs from research activity may well be of significance in the policy formulation and planning processes. Research techniques are also increasingly used in evaluation as that activity becomes more systemitized. In fact, this program area is of such importance that it has been assessed in depth elsewhere in this volume. It is clear then that research and demonstration activities are no longer confined to the recesses of academia and are seen as having an increasingly significant impact upon the full range of federal programming activities. Bonnen, noting that investment in this area is believed to have a great deal to do with the distribution

of future economic growth, functionally and by area, has cited the need to analyze the "distributional consequences" from public support of research and demonstration activity.[48]

Indeed, a federal official has further substantiated the importance of research in programming by calling for a series of action steps to counter negative by-products resulting from the over-involvement of researchers in federal policy formulation.[49]

h) Evaluations

Evaluation as a "phase in systematic program development"[50] has been given increasing importance by administrators and legislators alike in recent years, as is indicated by the escalating popularity of the PPB System in the federal government and the increasing number of provisions for regular evaluation required in pending bills and enacted statutes. Expectations for this programming activity are high, as former Secretary of HEW, Robert Finch, has verified:

> Evaluation is a necessary foundation for effective implementation and judicious modification of our existing programs. At this point, evaluation is probably more important than the addition of new laws to an already extensive list of educational statutes....Evaluation will provide the information we require to strengthen weak programs, fully support effective programs, and drop those which are not fulfilling the objectives intended by the Congress when the programs were originally enacted.[51]

Although a review of the literature reveals numerous definitions, the following operational description will serve to clarify some of the distinguishing characteristics of evaluation as a separate programming activity:

> Evaluation (1) assesses the effectiveness of an ongoing program in achieving its objectives, (2) relies on the principles of research design to distinguish a program's effects from those of other forces working in a situation, and (3) aims at program improvement through a modification of current operations...[52]

Evaluation is seen as normally following implementation and

ideally is the activity that links program operations to the planning of future programs and policies.[53] Some authors have noted however that certain evaluation activities, e.g., the clarification of program goals and objectives, must occur during the policy formulation and planning stages, if subsequent evaluation is to prove worthwhile. Others have observed moreover that the question of sponsorship of evaluation is critical in determining whose interests are actually served by evaluative efforts.[54]

Despite the near universal acknowledgement of evaluation's potential impact, there is also widespread agreement that its role in actually influencing decision-making has been minimal to date. "The recent literature is unanimous in announcing the general failure to affect decision-making in a significant way."[55] Yet, while acknowledging the problems which serve to limit the applicability of evaluative techniques, others have maintained that some of these difficulties are not only remediable, but that the results of even imperfect evaluation could improve decisions currently being made.[56] Hence, we conclude that evaluation remains an actual and potentially significant programming activity which must be assessed carefully for its implications and consequences.

i) Grants and Contracting

Whether one hails it as a favorable index of the trend toward "reprivatization"[57] or an ominous development which warrants close scrutiny for its potentially negative effects upon the governmental process,[58] it is clear that the involvement of private firms and agencies in federal programming is a significant activity, constituting as one author put it, one of the principal procedures for legitimation in this society.[59] Indeed, public/private sector arrangements represent such a large share of the national budget (estimated at over $100 billion), that they may well constitute another branch of government, operating according to its own rules and procedures.

This activity is distinguished here because the outputs of grants and contracts let by federal bureaucracies have potential for impinging upon each of the other key programming processes identified in this section. Thus, the identity of grantees and contractors and the consequences of their involvement in relation to both federal agency goals and objectives and the general public welfare is a matter of critical programming importance.

3. The Impact of Institutional Racism on Programming Processes

To turn again to our central thesis, how then does institutional racism actually impact upon these key programming processes? The values which individuals bring to decision-making provide one important vehicle for racism's influence. Bureaucratic practices and procedures which reflect and/or are influenced by the effects of overtly racist practices in the past represent another. Through either or a combination of both, decisions at every programming level can have disproportionate results for minority groups.

a) The Role of Values in Programming

It was John Dewey who observed in 1910 that: "We do not approach any problem with a wholly naive or virgin mind; we approach it with certain acquired habitual modes of understanding, with a certain store of previously evolved meanings, or at least of experiences for which meaning may be educed."[60] Values and perceptions then clearly condition problem definitions,[61] in preselecting the range of available policy alternatives[62] and determining the nature of the final policy choices.[63] Myrdal has also underscored the role values play in research and analysis[64] and Caro has noted that evaluation too may be based upon a wide range of value perspectives.[65] What remains then is to demonstrate to what extent racism impinges upon the unofficial agendas of decision-makers at various levels as they

play their respective roles.

b) Racism's Value Consequences

Other authors have traced the process through which racism becomes ideology in a given society, as patterns of behavior which result in the subordination of certain racial groups are rationalized through a network of values, beliefs and pseudo-scientific theories which are then propagated and popularized through institutions. We have observed moreover that such values and beliefs, once the institutionalization of racism is complete, are transmitted without conscious effort and are absorbed often without knowledge by members of society.

What are some of the values which buttress racism's existence? In America, a belief in the inherent superiority of whites and the inferiority of non-whites is central to the racist value system. Variations on this theme can exist. Majority predominance and minority subordination may be viewed as preordained, not only acceptable as a manifestation of "order" but also beyond the control of individuals to alter. "Whiteness" may also represent mainstream "normalcy;" "blackness" on the other hand, may be viewed as "deviance." Finally, whiteness may be associated with approved "constructive" and "self-reliant" behavior for which the phrase "work ethic" is a present-day catchword. Blackness on the other hand is identified with devalued behavioral patterns (dependency, poverty) coded by "the welfare ethic" of recent phraseology.[66]

This discussion has important implications for any aspect of the programming process in which values play a key role. Given the nature of racism, members of the predominant racial group, in a society in which the phenomenon exists, simply cannot be expected under normal circumstances to view needs, problems, proposed solutions, and goals and objectives from the vantage point of groups who either consciously or unconsciously they consider inferior. It is on this basis that minority groups lay claim to representation in the decision-

making processes which have effects upon their lives.

There are other ways in which racism impacts upon the decision-making process, if more indirectly. The process of institutionalization acts to codify inherited patterns of organizational interaction so that clientele or constituency relationships with bureaucratic agents or representatives are set; definite patterns of communication exist; "new problems" will be viewed in a particular way.[67] Racism has deprived minority groups of access to bureaucracies in the past and has rendered them relatively powerless in contrast to the majority group. Thus, it is clear that their concerns are less likely to be considered, as problems are defined and alternative solutions are assessed. Not only is policy output affected accordingly,[68] but policy benefits are likely to be disproportionately allocated. Nor is it likely that this "access imbalance" will be overcome without a commitment on the part of bureaucrats at each key point in the programming process to make conscious decisions that will have that result.

To summarize then, racism can impact upon programming decisions, through commission, i.e., through the influence of racist values and "mind-sets" which work to the disadvantage of minority groups. In addition, institutional subordination can result in the impact of racism through omission, i.e., the neglect of minority group concerns as the result of the "invisibility" of minority group interests in the "give and take" of the bureaucractic decision-making process.

As a next step in developing the theoretical framework for this analysis, we move now to identify these interests and to understand how federal programming can impact upon them, both positively and negatively.

D. The Consequences of Federal Programming

The real significance of federal programming is measured by its consequences for the public as a whole and for "intended beneficiaries" in particular. In this section, standard

conceptualizations of programming consequences will be explored as a prelude to the development of more comprehensive performance criteria for federal programs directed at minority groups.

1. Positive Programming Consequences: Benefits

With the advent of program analysis and evaluation, budgeting systems, the terms and techniques of economics have grown in importance and significance. One such concept is "benefit," defined within the context of the present discussion as a government produced economic good, where good is defined broadly to include all things tangible and intangible (e.g., services) which individuals desire.[69] Benefits are categorized in various ways. Some are expected, some are not. Some are manifest, others are latent. Certain benefits have short-run effects, others have long-run implications. Some are marketed, divisible and measurable while others are none of these.[70] And there are admittedly certain benefits which are not discoverable.[71] A workable schema for the categorization of benefits,[72] which will suit our purposes, is the following:

> Primary Benefits: intended program outputs (products or services), the value of which is determined to exceed the associated costs.
>
> Secondary Benefits: unintended program outputs (positive "spillovers" or "externalities"), which are determined to be beneficial (e.g., increased incomes as the result of primary health benefits).
>
> Intangible Benefits: indivisible, intangible program outputs which are not readily isolated, but which are determined to be beneficial (e.g., national security).

2. Negative Programming Consequences: Costs

"Costs," broadly defined, "are any unfavorable consequences of government action."[73] In specific economic terms, costs represent the value of program inputs or resources - present and future, which are diverted for a given program purpose from other uses. There are other kinds of costs however. Analysts

have concluded that negative "externalities" (i.e. the counterpart of "secondary benefits" defined above), a term which is most frequently applied to the negative spill-over effects resulting fomr technological advances, often represent staggering costs, which must also be calculated in any cost/benefit analysis.[74]

Another category of "cost" which has particular relevance to our discussion, has been advanced as a concept by James Bonnen. "Perverse distributional consequences" are effects of public programs originally intended to fulfill equity objectives for particular beneficiaries, which in fact have become "perverse when measured against current equity standards or even the program's original purpose."[75]

A related concept is "disincentive," i.e., a programming consequence which has the opposite effect upon motivation, determination and action than was originally intended.[76]

3. Benefits and Costs: Problems in Application

In assessing programming consequences, the difficulty lies not in the conceptualization of costs and benefits but in their utilization as evaluation tools. "Traditionally," writes Wholey in an assessment of federal evaluation activities, "the federal government has been much more concerned with the efficiency of its programs than with their negative and positive effects."[77] A major difficulty has been the lack of specificity of program objectives[78] - a prerequisite if program outputs rather than inputs are to be emphasized.[79] The "state of the measurement art" has also represented a stumbling block, a fact acknowledged by the Bureau of the Budget:

> Valid measurement of the end-product output may be more or less difficult in various organizations and in some instances, especially where the nature, quality, and purpose of output undergo rapid change, or where the output is otherwise undefinable or non-homogeneous, it may be practically impossible.[80]

Another critical problem is the lack of comprehensive data. "A conscientious cost-benefit study...cannot ignore any spill-over effect, positive or negative, that is of social concern."[81]

But, as observers have noted, in the government, "side effects have received little attention from program managers or policy-makers."[82] Bonnen, describing our state of knowledge concerning programming consequences as "frankly pitiful," cites the need for information in the following categories in order to fill major theoretical and data gaps:

> For Benefits: (1) who should benefit? (2) who actually benefits? (3) how much are the total benefits of the program? (4) what is the distribution of program benefits? (5) what is the current distribution of incomes and assets among beneficiaries (actual and potential)?
>
> For Costs: (6) who should pay the program costs? (7) who actually does pay the costs? (8) what are the total program costs? (9) how are program costs distributed? (10) what is the current distribution of incomes and assets among actual and potential burdened groups?[83]

Finally, the question of value perspective in assessing program outputs or consequences is of critical importance. Even if benefits or costs are measurable, the process of their valuation involves subjective standards and judgements. It is for this reason that some have recommended that several outcome measures be utilized in evaluating program results, including those proposed by "loyal opponents."[84] Bonnen too has observed that considerations of equity, "a value judgement made by society about what is fair and equitable," lie at the heart of conflicts over what the distributions of program benefits are and should be. In remarking on the inescapability of value judgements, he concludes: "...our responsibility in analyzing public programs does not end with the goal of efficiency and its measurement in a benefit-cost ratio. Indeed, efficiency and equity are frequently (sic) intertwined analytically as well as in social policy."[85]

E. Federal Programming and Minority Group Equity

We turn now to a discussion of the role of racial minorities as interest groups, for the purpose of developing guidelines for the evaluation of federal programming consequences from the

minority perspective. To be sure, there has been so little substantive research done in this area, that the propositions advanced can only be considered as hypotheses which must be tested. Yet there is much to warrant their further investigation.

Federal resources are not unlimited.

> With the danger of increasing strain on the system of international order and on the system of social order at home, it becomes a question of national survival as to how effectively the U. S. government utilizes its resources nationally and internationally.[86]

Clearly, efficiency would be served by a rational assessment of actual programming consequences to determine whether intended benefits were realized or additional costs were incurred. In addition, minority groups are often among the "intended beneficiaries" of public programs. Much of the social legislation of the past decade in fact was passed as a direct response to the organized and spontaneous expressions of discontent and protest in Black and other minority communities. Although these protests have been followed by a recent period of relative quiescence, a review of American history readily confirms that racial inequality and injustice has been a continuing disruptive force. And despite the passage of legislation, minority groups remain subordinated today, as measured by all important social indicators, whether unemployment rates, average family income per year,[87] access to political, economic and other institutions, or employment in federal agencies.[88] Thus, whether for reasons of efficiency, expediency, or concerns for justice and fair-play, it is clearly a matter of sound policy to direct federal resources for the amelioration of these inequities.

1. Positive Programming Consequences for Minority Groups

What then are positive programming consequences from the perspective of minority groups? Several authors have provided valuable theoretical contributions in this area. Based upon the assumptions Coleman advances for example, positive programming

consequences will result in the reduction of group deficits and in the generation of group assets so that a distinct subgroup in society "can come to gain power, either individually or as a group." Power is defined by Coleman as "a position in society having as much power over one's own life and over community and national actions as do other citizens, in short, a position in society that makes real, rather than potential, the power of each individual implied in a document like the U. S. Constitution."[89] Katznelson, in a provocative essay entitled "Power in the Reformulation of Race Research," expands upon this theme in noting:

> To assess a group's power capacity, it is necessary to assess its assets which may be converted into power (like consciousness, power may be actual or potential). These assets or resources include money and status, but the most important political assets are positional... it is clear that to obtain the generalized capacity called political power, a person or group must have access to the resources of positions of political control.[90]

S. M. Miller and Pamela Roby offer yet another but related analysis from which desirable programming consequences can be inferred:

> We suggest that a minimum approach by government in any society with significant inequalities must provide for rising minimum levels, not only of (1) incomes, (2) assets, and (3) basic services, but also of (4) self-respect and (5) opportunities for education and social mobility and (6) participation in many forms of decision-making.[91]

The two authors' six critical "dimensions of well-being" are rather similar to Coleman's schema of assets which are the prerequisites of group empowerment, including: community cohesion,[92] family resources, personal resources, legal and legislative resources, economic resources,[93] and political resources.

If then, based upon this analysis, equity for minority groups is to be eventually achieved, it is clear that federal programming activities must have as a consequence the development and/or enhancement of these enabling resources. A discussion of the actual conversion process, i. e., "the

efficacy of various types of social action and social policy toward erasing minority group deficits" lies beyond the scope of this paper.[94] The foregoing discussion does suggest however that the following federal programming activities will have resource-building consequences in minority communities:

a) Activities which make possible the formulation and transmission of values which foster feelings of self-worth, in-group cooperation, locus or "destiny control"[95] and individual and collective achievement.

b) Activities which will result in an increase in individual resources (personal, financial, etc.).

c) Activities which will result in the development and/or the strengthening of "infrastructures."[96]

d) Activities which will facilitate the establishment and/or strengthening of alternative institutions designed, administered, and controlled by minority groups.

e) Activities which will function to reduce racism's impact in non-minority directed institutions.

f) Activities which will enhance group ability to reward or sanction individuals in accordance with the requirements of group self-interest.

g) Activities which will increase the number of minority decision-makers functioning within political, economic and legal institutions.

h) Activities which will increase group access to political, economic and legal institutions.

i) Activities which will result in the delivery of needed and relevant services (i.e. which facilitate resource development).

2. Negative Programming Consequences for Minority Groups

Just as it is important to identify positive programming consequences from the minority perspective, it is equally necessary to conceptualize and describe potentially negative effects. With acceptance of the premises articulated in the

previous section, an appropriate definition becomes the following: Negative consequences of federal programs are those program outputs which maintain minority group subordination and powerlessness within their societal context. Various aspects of this definition require further elaboration.

The emphasis upon "subordination" and "context" reflects a concern to avoid the confusion endemic to such a discussion. For programs which result in "progress" for minority groups, often use as benchmarks for comparison, not the current position of the majority, but rather the prior status of the minority gor whom "progress" is being claimed. This fixation ignores the simultaneous change in position of the majority group over time, and accordingly, the fact that the subordinated status of the minority in relation to the majority remains essentially unchanged. Thus, in a critique of this customary analytical approach Fein concludes:

> Though the gains are large relative to where an earlier generation of Negroes stood, they are often more limited if the comparison is made of non-white indicators relative to those of whites. In such comparisons (for example, income) we often find that the differential between whites and non-whites has been widening in recent years.91

Similar confusion arises when analysts attempt to assess the position of minority groups relative to that of members of those groups who are located in other societal settings. Thus, in comparison to all other Blacks throughout the world, Blacks in the United States are seen as fortunate, since they are clearly the most healthy, the best educated and the most economically advantaged. Both analytical approaches however reflect an acceptance of premises which have been heavily tinged with racist assumptions. For to maintain that the role and place of minorities in a society, which claims to accept them as citizens of equal standing, is so unique that a different set of standards should be used to assess the quality of their participation, is to view inequalities founded upon race as appropriate and acceptable.

What must also be faced is that federal programs may also

contribute to the deterioration of minority group status. The ravages of urban renewal projects and the impact upon family life of inhumane welfare regulations which in effect force fathers from their own homes in order to qualify for assistance are two well documented and publicized examples. But there are more subtle means as well. For example, unreal expectations attached to certain federal programs and policies can have a devastating effect upon minority group status. To illustrate, the annual budget of the so-called "War on Poverty" has never approached one-tenth of the annual appropriations allocated for the real war simultaneously being waged in Vietnam. Yet the "failure" of that limited effort to "eliminate poverty" has not only been used as justification for the cynicism and punitiveness regarding the economically disadvantaged so evident in public discussions and decision-making today, but has also had a debilitating effect upon the "intended beneficiaries" themselves. Consequently, despite the fact that many such programs were neither equipped nor intended to succeed,[98] the perception and internalization of "failure" have clearly affected individual and group morale, community cohesiveness, and ability to mount resources so that earlier gains in minority power and influence have been negatively affected. It is for these reasons that Ryan, in a searing commentary, makes the following observation:

> I have now come to believe that the ideology of Blaming the Victim so distorts and disorients the thinking of the average concerned citizen that it becomes a primary barrier to effective social change. And, further, I believe that the injustices and inequalities in American life can never be understood (and therefore, can never be eliminated) until that ideology is exposed and destroyed.[99]

In addition, the customary processes and procedures of bureaucratic administration itself may well result in the intensification of minority group powerlessness. An official of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission has described the problem in the following way:

> While each government's program may be actually or

> potentially useful, their method of administration requires the ghetoo resident to be a recipient. As a recipient he is powerless. Regardless of the government's intent or the potential benefits the government may be dispensing, the ghetto resident's sense of powerlessness is often reconfirmed. He is frequently overwhelmed by government representatives who are, in fact, determining his future when the heart of his problem is the need to determine his own future. He is often unwilling or unable to respond to the potential benefits of the program because he lacks the foundation for achieving a sense of self-determination.100

To summarize, federal programs which fail to address the realities of social stratification and power relationships, which lack equitable and attainable objectives, which ignore the need for viable feedback mechanisms and provide few opportunities for self-determination may well result in negative programming consequences which far outweight intended benefits.

On the basis of this discussion, we therefore hypothesize that there are federal programming activities which may only intensify for minority groups the problems which institutional racism has helped to produce. Accordingly, the listing below suggests targets for further research and analysis, the results of which could have significant implications for the formulation of future federal policies and programs:

a) Activities which serve to perpetuate values which are detrimental to minority group empowerment (e.g., cultural inferiority, negative self-concept, ultra-individualism, the appropriateness of economic exploitation).

b) Activities which foster individual and group dependency.

c) Activities which are based upon misstatements of minority group problems and hence allocate funds for nonessential or even detrimental purposes.

d) Activities which strengthen majority-controlled institutions at the expense of the development of minority institutional alternatives.

e) Activities which foster group divisiveness.

f) Activities which weaken existing minority institutions.

g) Activities which rely upon or reinforce institutional

practices and procedures which have inequitable results for minority groups.

F. Conclusion: Institutional Racism and Federal Programming

The foregoing discussion of definitions, concepts and assumptions has had one major purpose - to establish a theoretical framework to sbustantiate our central premise. That is, it is urgently necessary to develop an approach for assessing federal programs from the minority perspective which will:

1) Incorporate equity as a basic value, i.e. assume the premise that the federal government has a responsibility for assuring that federal power and resources are used to the fullest extent possible to achieve equity among different societal interests.

2) Expand prevailing conceptualizations of "costs" and "benefits" to encompass indices for the measurement and assessment of externalities, intangible benefits and "perverse distributional consequences."

3) Improve the data base concerning the consequences both positive and negative, of federal programming activities for minorities as specific target groups.

4) Assess key bureaucratic decision-making activities, both for their implications for minority groups and for the extent to which institutional racism has influenced decision-making outcomes.

5) Recognize that institutional racism has resulted in the subordination of certain racial groups in the American context, and as an institutionalized phenomenon, without conscious efforts to redress conditions of minority powerlessness, racism will impact through institutions to the continuing detriment of those groups.

Having laid this theoretical groundwork, we turn now to the application of these findings in an assessment of federal child development programming. Given the nature of this investigation, culminating in preliminary document or "position

paper," there will be no effort to undertake a comprehensive examination of the full range of federal child development activities which exist. Alternatively, as the result of a preliminary data-gathering effort, those activities will be summarized and suggested focal points for inquiry will be spotlighted for further research and analysis. Only in assessing the Office of Child Development, the sponsor of this study, will there be an attempt to provide a more detailed assessment, although here too observations are to be considered preliminary and hence, deserving of more extended exploration.

II. Child Development Programming in the Federal Government: A Preliminary Assessment

A. An Agency-Wide Analysis

In the second phase of the investigation of federal programming, an effort was made to identify the full range of child development activities supported in whole or in part by the federal government which actually or potentially impact upon minority groups. To facilitate understanding, program activities have been divided into the following categories.[1]

1) Direct Services

Federal programs which provide direct support for the delivery of day care/child development services for children 0-6 on an ongoing or semipermanent basis.[2]

2) Research and Demonstration

Federal programs which support day care/child development and related activities for research and demonstration purposes.

3) Ancillary Services

Federal programs which may directly support certain

activities and/or aspects of child development and related projects if these activities also contribute to other specified federal program goals and objectives.

4) Contextual Support

Federal programs which may support certain child development/day care projects or project activities within the context of broader program efforts.

5) Tangential Involvement

Federal or federally supported programs which have the potential for tangential effects upon child development/day care programs, specific projects and/or related activities.

In view of the nature of this investigation as a preliminary effort, fuller descriptions are provided for only those programs in the first two categories, which together constitute the largest allocation of federal resources for child development and related activities. In a follow-up study of longer duration and wider scope, it is anticipated that a thoroughgoing analysis would be made of each of the programs in the other three categories as well. (See Appendix A for program descriptions.)

Methodology

The outline which appears as Appendix B was used as a data collection guide for this effort. Information was gathered through interviews with program personnel and through written material made available by individual agencies. Several difficulties were encountered in the course of this phase of the investigation. First, the timing of data gathering: July 1, 1972 through August 30, 1972 coincided with the vacation months and thus, interviews with the most knowledgeable personnel

in selected agencies were often difficult to secure. In addition, cooperation among resource persons varied, depending upon their reactions to the purpose of the study. In that regard, minority interviews were universally more cooperative than non-minority subjects. Third, most persons interviewed were knowledgeable about only one aspect of the program in question so that multiple interviews in one agency would have to have been arranged in order to collect all of the data required. Finally, the time allocated to the total investigation was entirely too limited to allow for a comprehensive data gathering effort.

Summary of Findings

Two key questions arise from the theoretical concepts and assumptions outlined in the first section of this chapter. First, as the result of the survey, how does institutional racism affect key programming processes in agencies which sponsor child development activities? Second, are the consequences of federal child development programs equitable and beneficial for minority groups? The findings summarized below can only be considered tentative responses to these queries. They suggest however areas in which further development and application of theory, analytical constructs and evaluation methodologies are required in order to provide a comprehensive assessment of minority participation in federal program efforts.

1) Policy Formulation

Federal child development policies in the main reflect little awareness of minority groups as distinct cultural entities which have special needs and warrant compensatory attention and concern.[2a] Purpose and policy statements reviewed reflect a concern for equity for the handicapped and even geographic regions. There are of course frequent references to the "disadvantaged," the "deprived" and the "poor." But only in

two instances[3] has an awareness of ethnicity and the effect of racism appeared to impact upon the policy formulation process, with varying results when such policies have been implemented. Nor do all minority groups appear to enjoy the same status in federal agencies.[4] There appears to be a particular reluctance, in fact, to recognize minority groups, particularly the nation's largest - the Black community, as distinct cultural entities possessing individual life styles, languages, norms and values.[5]

Thus, the statement of the "problem" which seems to guide policy formulation in early childhood is nearly universally seen as the inability of minority children and their families to measure up to prevailing standards of normalcy,[6] not racism and the skewed values and institutional practices it engenders. Indeed, an analysis of active research grants of one agency indicated that 61% of all studies relating to children and/or their families sought to assess the causes and cures of sickness, deficit and deviance among overwhelmingly minority subjects. Accordingly, any "compensatory" policies are seen as remedying not the imbalance of groups' resources and power which have resulted from racism's effects but rather as "compensating" for the individual deficiencies of minorities and the poor as measured by white, middle-class values and standards.

It follows then the focus of most child development policies is upon the individual, not his social context and the totality of the environment which influences the growth and development of children. There are some apparent exceptions as indicated in the program summaries regarding Head Start and NIMH research activity below. But there appears to be little translation of those policies into guidelines which govern daily programming activities. In the case of Head Start, for example, early intentions of Congress as expressed in the Economic Opportunity Act to increase the capacity of groups and communities as well as individuals to become self-sufficient have become so reinterpreted that OCD now appears to stress parent education rather than parent participation and has not called a National Parent Conference since 1969. Moreover, despite stated policy concerns

for the totality of the child's experience, only 12.3% of NIMH research grants assessed in 1972 dealt with environmental influences as compared to 87.7% which dealt with children and/or their families in isolation.

Finally, it should be noted that only one minority representative in the agencies surveyed, as indicated by his organizatinal status and actual authority, can potentially make a difference in the policy formulation process concerning young children.[7] Most child-related agencies exist as sub-structures within larger bureaucracies. None of those larger organizations is headed by minority group members and as has been discussed elsewhere, apparent positions of influence held by minorities are clearly compromised by other organizational arrangements.

The implications of this discussion for our overall thesis are clear. Not only are federal resources not targeted for minority groups, but they are also not directed for maximum group benefit. Hence it can be expected that federal child development policy would have minimal effect upon the reduction of racism's influence, since it is based upon a faulty analysis of the problem and a limited range of policy alternatives.

2) Planning

Although little information could be gathered about actual planning processes, it is clear that minorities in agencies which sponsor child development programs are underrepresented in formal policy planning roles. In few other organizational units in fact is minority representation as minimal as in program planning and evaluation offices. There are no minorities represented in decision-making positions in such units and our survey could identify only two minority professionals serving in this capacity in all of the agencies surveyed. In addition, only two agencies appeared to involve minorities and consumers in any meaningful way in providing program feedback.[8]

Accordingly, program alternatives are generally not designed to test hypotheses of interest to minority groups. Feedback from

minority communities is lacking which could be incorporated as policy guidelines are concretized. And long-range planning commitments are made which rarely incorporate a sensitivity to minority perceptions and needs, either in the present or in the future.

3) Organization and Structure

Increasing numbers of child development/day care programs have been decentralized in recent years, and it is expected that the trend will accelerate in the future. Insufficient data was collected to provide insight into the effects of decentralization for minority communities. However, several interviewers in national offices expressed a concern regarding the underrepresentation of minorities at state levels in particular and the responsiveness of state governments to the needs of minority communities. Correspondingly, such moves to decentralize have often resulted in the diminution of the influence of minority decision-makers in national offices.

Another organizational practice which appears to have negative effects upon minority participation is the legislatively mandated role of review committees and Advisory Councils in decision-making concerning research grants. In all such committees and panels identified but one, the review committee for the Center for the Study of Minority Group Mental Health Programs (Minority Issues Center) in NIMH, the membership is overwhelmingly white.[9] In light of the earlier discussion of the role of racism in decision-making in general and the chapter elsewhere in this volume concerning racism's impact upon research in particular, it is expected that the racial identification of panel members could indeed make a difference in their ability to assess objectively the qualifications of the researchers and their institutions, the questions under study and the value of the efforts proposed. It is to be assumed therefore that this institutional arrangement could be at least partly responsible for the near total absence of minority

institutions and agencies among grant recipients in those agencies which rely upon such mechanisms.

Finally, some discussion of minority advocacy organizational structures is in order. The primary case in point is the Minority Issues Center at NIMH although other centers also exist, the activities of which may more indirectly impinge upon child development programming. There is no question that the Center at NIMH has been important as a means of focusing attention upon minority issues within the agency and as a point of access for minority groups. But there are clear indications that such organizational arrangements are hardly panaceas for minority under-involvement in programming activities. First the budget of the center, approximately $4.5 to $5 million for FY 1973 for all minorities, for all age groups, covering operational and program expenses, must be contrasted with an overall budget for NIMH of $600 million, and approximately $46.5 million provided in support of active NIMH research, fellowship and training grants and contracts focusing upon children and youth (0-25) alone in FY 1971.

In addition, since all grants involving minority investigators and institutions are now routinely assigned to the Minority Issues Center, awards to minorities by other units are almost non-existent. A check of NIMH grants active as of April 1972 concerning children and youth (0-25) showed that three such awards were made to minority organizations or institutions, out of a grand total of 361 amounting to nearly $23 million.

The implications of this discussion are clear. To the extent that the mere existence of a minority advocacy office becomes the rationalization for continued if not heightened exclusionary practices on the part of other divisions and bureaus, the cause of minority group equity is hardly served. For activities which are truly compensatory should not only result in strengthened advocacy activities but should also have a sensitizing impact throughout the organizational structure, which is reflected in the equitable distribution of the full

range of agency benefits.

4) Budgeting

In many agencies surveyed, child development and related programs which have been authorized and hold promise of significant resource development among minority groups have been limited by minimal appropirations which allow for no expansion of programs beyond an initial select constituency (e.g., Head Start).

In addition, in the research area, commitments to multiple year funding, although important for institutional development, have been made to those who had access and expertise at the time programs were first initiated, so that minimal funding flexibility remains. This practice has clearly worked to the disadvantage of minority groups who were not included among initial grantees and thus have not had the benefit of sustained funding (e.g., NCERD's research program). Thus, the primary beneficiaries of many child development research programs in particular remain the white "haves" rather than the minority "have-nots."

Funding requirements for demonstration programs also often work to the disadvantage of minority groups. Funding for these activities is generally limited and not long-term. When agency guidelines (e.g., BEH) require that project sponsors demonstrate the ability to attract funding from other sources, minorities are clearly put at a disadvantage. Similarly, more than one respondent reported personal knowledge of successful minority-sponsored programs which simply had to be abandoned after initial demonstration funding was suspended, for there were no resources for program continuation or replication.

Finally, the impending elimination of Title IV-A and B, of the Social Security Act as amended, as an open-ended funding source, virtually closes the primary avenue for the increased involvement of minorities as providers and recipients of child development services in local communities. Not only does this

action appear to violate the purposes of Title IV-B as originally intended,[10] but it also should have perverse consequences for minority groups. In New York and the District of Columbia, the action of Congress will probably precipitate the closing of numerous day care centers which have served as resources to minority communities. It is forseeable, moreover, that the imposition of the financial limitations inherent in the Revenue Sharing Act could restrict child care to custodial services only, limited to recipients of public assistance. Thus, persons now in the labor market would be added to welfare rolls because they can no longer find adequate day care for their children.

5) Staffing

It has been observed that only one member of a minority group occupies a key decision-making position concerning major child development programs, i.e., is able to influence policy, allocate agency resources and direct the activities of significant numbers of staff. In addition, there are eight minority professionals with some decision-making authority, in terms of their access to budgetary resources, ability to deploy staff and make inputs into the policy formulation and planning process.[11] The positions of all other minorities, even those in apparent positions of power and influence are clearly circumscribed by organizational arrangements and practices. Minority division directors and bureau chiefs often have no budgets with which to work, occupy positions in "acting" capacities over long periods of time and are required to coordinate decisions with other offices. Racism too appears to play a role. For example, as the result of informal arrangements, several minority unit heads reported having had considerably less access to information and less influence with their superiors than their white peers. Disproportional results for minorities were also seen or anticipated as the consequence of completed or projected reorganization plans.

Recalling our initial theoretical discussion, it is also

important to comment on the role of subordinates. White decision-makers in agencies surveyed are typically surrounded by white special assistants and confidential aides who have direct and frequent access to them. Few minorities were found in these positions. In addition, minority decision-makers were found to function in relatively isolated positions so that upon their departure from the agencies, there were rarely other minority professionals available to take their place. Finally, although the data base was incomplete, it was clear that in agencies surveyed the overwhelming majority of consultants on review committee panels and advisors to decision-making staffs were not representatives of minority groups.

The presence of minority staff at decision-making levels is seen as a key factor in the allocation of organizational benefits. There does appear to be a relationship for example between the number of minority professionals in staff positions and the number of minority organizations and institutions which receive agency grants and contracts. The absence of minority professionals in responsible positions on the other hand is clearly the result of individual and institutionalized patterns and practices, which result in negative equity consequences for minority groups.

6) Communication

Little information was obtained concerning agency communication processes. One tentative conclusion can be drawn however; it is clear that most agencies have made little or no efforts to inform minority institutions, organizations and agencies of their research and demonstration programs, to solicit the proposals or to provide them with technical assistance concerning the application process. Accordingly, those white institutions which have had access receive "word of mouth" as well as written communication, and have developed sophisticated "grantsmanship" techniques, appear again and again on rosters of grantees, often receiving multiple grants in one funding

cycle from the same source. Obviously, without aggressive campaigns to counteract this initial advantage, the effects of institutionalized racism will continue to have disproportionate effects for minority groups.

7) Grants and Contracting (Research and Demonstration)

We have noted the role of research and evaluation in providing inputs to policy formulation and planning processes, which in turn result in the development, implementation and/or alteration of other program activities. As important to note as we assess the allocation of benefits is the impact of the granting and contracting process. For example, implications of NCERD's program for the development of institutional resources is clear. Federal agencies have made and are making substantial contributions to the growth and development of research institutions and capabilities in the broader society, which in turn have had far reaching effects upon policy and resource distribution. Yet, the results of this preliminary survey show that minority institutional participation (as distinguished from the involvement of minority investigators, concerning which no accurate statistics are available in any agency) in federal child development grant and contracting activities is so limited in all but a few instances that it might well be considered nonexistent. It is highly significant, for example, that of 334 NICHD grants active as of November 1971, totalling $18,158,087, not one was awarded to an identificable minority institution, organization or agency. This means in concrete terms that there is almost no possibility for the generation of policy inputs from the minority perspective as the result of research activities sponsored by NICHD. It also demonstrates that while such well-endowed organizations as John Hopkins University received $800,000 in NICHD funds in one year with which to sustain and enhance that institution, not one of the over 110 minority colleges and universities in the country had access to such resources with which to begin to develop and

expand their institutional expertise. This then is an example of a programming consequence which can only be seen as negative from a minority perspective. Nor can it be explained by the rationalization that research expertise does not exist at this point in time in those institutions which have never received any federal resources with which such capabilities might have been developed.

Except in the case of OCD, there was little information gathered concerning the results of federal evaluation efforts. One point, however, is clear. The inability to focus upon minority groups in federal evaluation efforts is based in large part upon the unwillingness at policy levels to view these groups as distinct cultural entities deserving of special attention. Yet evaluations which fail to take into account the role of race in American society will undoubtedly continue to proceed from false assumptions to arrive at faulty conclusions. (See OCD case study below.)

8) Program Impact (Community Level)

A limited analysis of program impact at the community level was conducted as the third phase of this investigation. Since the time of the research team was extremely limited, only a random assessment could be made of a few accessible centers in Trenton, New Jersey; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Baltimore, Maryland; Washington, D. C. Because of the timing of the interviews in August, 1972, during a vacation period when most centers were closed, very little could be ascertained. However, a draft instrument was tested, which was designed to assess the extent to which federally supported child development centers could contribute to the process of minority group resource development.

It is clear from the results of the initial survey, however, that most centers have not understood the potential of their activities in this manner. Of the five federally assisted projects reviewed, only one perceived itself as a potential

institutional resource and catalyst for the minority group it served. Of particular significance was the preliminary assessment of the HEW Child Development Center operated by Thiokol Chemical Corporation, for no other center surveyed appeared to make a more minimal contribution to minority group development.[12]

Although no firm conclusions can be drawn from this phase of the investigation, it is apparent that there are no federal policies encouraging the utilization of child development resources for maximum minority group benefit. Any such activity, which does undoubtedly occur, is the result of the commitment of individual directors. Thus, a significant opportunity is missed for the generation of programming consequences for minority groups, which extend beyond the provision of direct services to children to the full-range of resources needed for minority group advancement.

B. The Office of Child Development - A Case Study

Although certain phases of OCD activities relevant to the agency-wide survey have been dealt with in the Appendix, the following is presented as an interpretative analysis of critical OCD programming processes, in order to ascertain in greater depth the actual participation of minority groups and the impact upon them of the child development programs sponsored by one agency.

By way of introduction, it si apparent that relative to other agencies surveyed, minority group participation in OCD activities at all levels was greater than in any other agency surveyed. However, against the background of the theoretical discussion outlined in the first section of this chapter, such relative comparisons are clearly insufficient in responding to both the equity needs of minorities as participants in the political process and the requirements of such groups in light of institutional racism's accumulative effects. Thus, the analysis is intended to provide not a basis for self-satisfaction

but as a means of identifying targets for corrective and affirmative action.

Policy Formulation/Planning

Although recognized as distinct programming processes, policy formulation and planning which are inter-related, have been combined for purposes of assessment and discussion.

Ostensibly, basic policy for OCD is set by the legislation (see Appendix A) which provides the authorization for the major programs (Head Start and Children's Bureau) administered by the agency. Those policy guidelines are summarized respectively as the elimination of poverty and the provision of "leadership, advice and services which affect the general well-being of children and youth as mandated by the Act of 1912." They are sufficiently broad, however, to require further interpretation and delineation. As noted, moreover, this formulation process can be as significant as the original action of Congress in determining the purpose and direction of agency activities.

Formally, operational policy in OCD is developed by agency leadership which consists of the Deputy Director (now Acting Director), selected members of his executive staff and consultants, the Associate Chief of the Chidren's Bureau, the Associate Director for Child Development Services, the Assistant Director of Administration, and Assistant Regional Directors in ten HEW Regional Offices. A planning and analysis unit reports to the Director and is ostensibly charged with planning for the Office. However, as observed and as reported by interviewees, decisions which are made within the Office are normally made by a much smaller group. Whether the result of the pressure of time constraints, poor management, convenience or deliberate exclusionary practices, most key decision (i.e., those which set agency-wide policy affecting the allocation of financial and staff resources) appear to be made primarily by the Acting Director and the Associate Director for Child Development Services in cooperation with persons they select for consultation.

Other staff members have input - but it appears to be sporadically requested and more related to programmatic considerations which lie within one's primary area of responsibility. There is also little opportunity for feedback; i.e., participants in the decision-making process are rarely informed of the status of their recommendations or are further consulted once the recommendations are made. Moreover, despite the existence of a formal planning unit, which until recently contained one of two minority professionals involved in this area in all federal agencies surveyed, planning in OCD appears disjointed - conducted by various decision-makers, individual consultants, outside firms and individual program specialists. In short, there appears to be minimal minority representation in the OCD policy formulation and planning process, with all that implies for feedback regarding actual program consequences and the delineation of policy and program alternatives.

OCD is a relatively new agency, existing only since 1969, and is a creation of administrative prerogative, with no legislative authorization. The Office has also not developed a powerful constituency either in communities or the Congress. Accordingly, it is perhaps even more vulnerable than most agencies to external political forces which ultimately have significant impact upon policy formulation and planning processes.

Thus, it appears that the political environment in which OCD functions has been largely responsible for these OCD policy shifts over time which can be discerned. For example, although the goal of attacking the causes of poverty ostensibly still remains in effect, the focus of Head Start has shifted noticeably from community action to individual adjustment, from parent participation to parent education, from child development to day care services. In actuality, policy formulation and planning occur not only within the agency but without. Indeed the extent to which authority is wielded inside OCD is in no small way related to access to and approval from external power centers.

The Introduction of the Master Planning Calendar in HEW,

which seeks to initiate long-term planning for the agency with the substantive involvement of Regional Offices and states, may well have significant implications for OCD policy formulation and planning in the future. Time and space do not permit a full exposition of the planning process mandated by this new plan, but it is clear that minority representation in Regional Offices and state governments as well as in national agencies, will have to be increased if there is to be any real input from a minority perspective concerning long-term policies and allocation of resources.

Budgeting

The budget of the Office of Child Development has remained relatively constant from 1969, when the Office was established. Increases in the Head Start part of the budget, which in FY 1972 amounted to 94% of the total of approximately $391 million, have been attributable primarily to cost-of-living increases. New programs sponso ed by OCD have fallen almost exclusively in the experimental area[1] with no real net increase in the number of Head Start and PCC programs shown.

Funds available for research and demonstrations have doubled in the past two fiscal years to $11.5 million in FY 1972. Yet OCD's budget in this area is still not as large as that of other agencies. Of the total requested for FY 1973 of $12.5 million, $7.2 million will provide for continuation of projects already approved. An additional amount apparently will also be tapped by other divisions for support of day care planning and other activities.

The funds allocated to the category of career development and technical assistance have been largely decentralized. Of $18 million available in FY 1972, $14.5 million was allocated to ten regions, in amounts ranging from $3 1/2 million to Region IV to $580,00 to Regio. VIII. Moreover, of the $4.5 million retained in headquarters, one and one quarter million had already been committed as of October 1972, and it is

estimated that much of the balance will be committed for the support of the Child Development Associates program.

In summary, FY 1973 overall budget estimates increase the overall budget by only 6%, with the major increase provided to maintain the existing level of effort. Thus, the only flexible funding available to OCD in the area of child development programming would appear to be funds allocated by the Research and Evaluation Division for research, demonstration and evaluation purposes. Previous decisions have resulted in the commitment of funds in all other categories, so that minority groups not yet funded have minimal access to those resources.

Organization

OCD programs are administered both centrally and through regional offices. Not only are Head Start grants allocated in regions, but as noted, Training and Technical Assistance (T & TA), Head Start Supplemental Training (HSST) and some research funds have now been decentralized. Regional Offices have a consultative relationship with state governments; at present vetoes of OCD programs by governors can still be overridden by the Secretary of HEW.

In addition, as sponsor of the Community Coordinated Child Care (4-C) programs, OCD has been involved in the coordination of efforts involving other agencies, regions, states and local communities (cities, counties and multi-county units).[2] Little data concerning minority participation or reaction concerning 4-C programs is available. It would appear, however, that on the balance the delivery system utilized by OCD is more advantageous to minorities from the standpoint of providing access, than those delivery systems encoutered in other federal agencies concerned with child development programming.

However, an increased role of state agencies in HEW and OCD programming, as is apparently contemplated, with projected negative consequences for those groups which have managed to participate to date.

Staffing

OCD has recently undergone a reorganization, resulting in the creation of a new bureau, the Child Development Services Bureau, headed by a white supergrade, which encompasses the unit which was once the Bureau of Head Start. Of four[3] positions GS levels 16-18, one is filled by a minority group member, the Associate Director of the Children's Bureau. It is interesting to note that two other positions, now held by minorities at a GS-15 level, were formerly supergrades - a matter which has been seen by interviewees within the agency as an example of the deliberate diminution of minority authority. Sixty-five percent of the employees GS-1 through 11 are members of minority groups, contrasted with 24% of those in positions GS 12-15. The representation of minorities among decision-makers in OCD Regional Offices - 6 to 10 Assistant Regional Directors - is more representational of the population served by OCD programs.[4]

As noted, the actual decision-making authority of minorities in various positions is often constrained by informal procedures which limit their participation. In addition, in accordance with the general thesis outlined initially, it is significant to observe that there have been few minorities represented among those staff persons and outside consultants who make up the executive and confidential staff for either the previous Director of OCD or the present Acting Director.

It should also be observed that a survey of minority staff in OCD conducted in relation to this study (See Appendix C) reveals a series of problems or perceptions of problems which appear to have an impact upon the morale and production of particularly minority staff members at all levels. Although comparable surveys were not made in other agencies, it would appear that certain management and personnel practices in particular have served to limit OCD's potential in maximizing benefits for minority groups both internally and in local communities.

Finally, there are indications that the policy of involvement,

which has resulted in at least some participation of minorities in OCD decision-making positions, is undergoing some revision. Of three top positions in the Child Development Associate Program, a new effort initiated by the previous Director which has significant implications for the credentialling of child care personnel across the nation, none are members of minority groups. Moreover, no Blacks have been hired to date in any professional position in the program. In addition, according to interviewees, the position of at least one minority Assistant Regional Director for OCD may be in jeopardy, signalling what would well be an ominous trend to reverse the limited gains made in recent years.

Communication

Formal external communications concerning OCD are handled by the Division of Public Education. The absence of significant minority input in the unit is reflected in the material published by the agency. For example, few articles by minority authors appear in Children Today, a bi-monthly publication of the Children's Bureau, OCD, and few if any are involved in the editing of the journal. Moreover, there has been no identifiable effort on the part of the OCD to reach minority audiences through public media. Of several television projects currently being sponsored by the Office, none are being developed by minority contractors or grantees.

Communications within the agency too appear to be handled selectively. There appears to be no routinization of information dissemination through internal newsletters or memoranda designed to keep staff abreast of events. Minority interviewees in particular complained of not having knowledge of program goals, objectives or activities or even major organizational changes until after they occurred.

Finally, although such communication has occurred on an individual basis, there has not been an agency effort to alert minority agencies, organizations or institutions (including

colleges and universities) of program priorities and resources. Since participation of these groups has been extremely limited in the past, avenues of access which are known to majority applicants are still unfamiliar to them. OCD has not yet made an organizational commitment to compensate for the results of institutional racism in this area.

Research

See Appendix A and Evaluation/Program Impact discussion in this section.

Contracting

Although centralized records do not exist and accurate records are not available, it is apparent that the number of minority contractors involved in OCD activities has climbed steadily since 1970, mostly through utilization of competitive bidding and SBA (8a) provisions.

However, the questionable OCD practice of relying heavily upon sole source contracts appears to unnecessarily limit minority participation. In this regard it is interesting to note that the clear majority of all contracts to whites by OCD was awarded on a sole source basis, while 20% of such contracts went to minority groups. It would appear therefore that OCD could increase minority participation by making more contracts competitive and/or by involving more minority firms on a sole source basis.

Minorities also appear to be only minimally represented among consultants and recipients of personal service contracts, a matter of importance since consultants have made substantive inputs into OCD policy formulation and planning processes. Finally, no minority firms were utilized as vendors by OCD either in 1971 or 1972, although there are obviously organizations which can provide the computer, graphics, printing and media services purchased by OCD during those fiscal years.

A matter of continuing concern among OCD interviewees was

not only the number of minorities represented on committees constituted to review contracts, but also irregularities observed in the manner in which the decisions of those panels were subsequently incorporated into the decision-making process. Such concerns could be alleviated if a specific contracting procedure in OCD were developed and enforced in accordance to clearly articulated guidelines.

Evaluation Program Impact

Mandated by law, evaluation activities has been conducted by Head Start from the inception of the program in 1965. These activities have fallen, according to agency reports, into four major categories: evaluation of summer Head Start programs (1965 & 1966); follow-up studies of children enrolled in Head Start programs (1967 & 1968); the Westinghouse cross-sectional longitudinal study of Head Start and non-Head Start comparison groups; and reviews of the literature on Head Start programs in 1971. OCD spokesmen maintain that study findings have contributed to a number of program decisions, including respectively: the expansion of full year programs in 1966; the development of experimental programs to determine the effects of a continuous Head Start-like intervention from infancy through primary grades (Parent and Child Centers and Follow-Through); the conversion of summer to full-year programs, the initiation of the Planned Variation Study and the establishment of a national monitoring program; and finally, the redefinition of Head Start as an experimental rather than a service program and the development of new experimental programs in 1971.[5]

Essential to the OCD evaluation program is the definition of goals and objectives of Head Start and related activities which the program is intended to accomplish. Although the primary purpose of Head Start ostensibly remains the elimination of poverty, more specific sub-goals appear to have shifted rather drastically, away from community action to a strategy

of accommodation and adjustment which stresses the need for the poor to attain levels of achievement based upon white, middle-class standards as the single best indicator of program effectiveness. Using such standards, by all accounts the impact and success of Head Start and related programs to date had been minimal.

But in view of the earlier theoretical discussion, and the analysis of research found elsewhere in this volume, it is also clear that such standards for the assessment of program consequences are pitifully inadequate. There have been, to be sure, evaluations of other areas of impact. The Kirchner Report released in 1970 focused upon the changes in existing institutions fostered by Head Start programs. A national study of Parent and Child Centers currently underway seeks to assess the impact of that experimental program on parents and staff as well as on children. But in general, there have been few efforts to assess the full-range of program consequences for those being served. And there has been little recognition of the need to assess, for evaluation purposes, program impact on minority groups as distinct entities, to determine what benefits and/or detriments have accrued to them specifically, rather than collapsing these groups into a broader sample in which their distinguishing characteristics are lost.

Thus, no assessment of Head Start's consequences upon family stability has been made nor has there been an effort to project the long-term consequences for that minority institution resulting from such highly touted intervention programs as Home Start. Nor has effort been given to understanding all the implications of other OCD experimental programs upon minority communities in terms of the extent to which they might foster individual dependency or community divisiveness. We know little or nothing about Head Start's impact upon the development of self-concept and locus control, although certain research findings have indicated that the belief in one's ability to act on the world and bring about change may be far more valuable than test performance in improving intellectual and cognitive functioning

in minority children.[6] Even the Kirschner evaluation of Head Start's role in fostering institutional change, while germane to such a broader evaluative approach, was limited in its usefulness. For had the question been posed differently, i.e., to assess Head Start's impact upon institutional racism, the real results of the program for "change" as defined in the first section of this chapter, would have been more clearly apparent.[7] As important, there has never been an assessment of the extent to which Head Start or any federal child development program has stimulated the development and/or has strengthened minority institutions, as significant a determinant of change potential from a minority perspective.

Valuable services have been provided to children and their families through certain OCD projects. However, applying all of the criteria with which the impact of federal programs might be assessed, it is clear that very little of their full promise has been realized. As important, given the definitions and assumptions which underlie this analysis, long-term consequences of these programs may not only fail to alter minority group subordination, but may well intensify the inequities which result from racism's impact in America.

C. Conclusion

Although the data base is incomplete, it is apparent that federal child development programming activities presently make only minimal contributions to the generation of those assets which are required for significant minority group advancement and real social change. In some instances, valuable services are provided and the resources of individuals are increased as the result of federal program efforts. But these positive programming consequences must be counterbalanced by the overwhelming evidence that:

1. Although minorities predominate in most agency target populations, they are only minimally represented among agency

decision-makers.

2. Federal resources have not facilitated the establishment of nor have they strengthened infrastructures and institutions in minority communities.

3. Research activities in particular have served to reinforce values and norms which are dysfunctional from a minority perspective.

4. There is little evidence that federal resources and influence have been used to reduce racism in non-minority directed institutions, including the federal agencies under review.

5. Few agencies have undertaken outreach activities to increase minority group access to institutional resources.

6. Some child-related activities being proposed or already implemented may well have perverse distributional consequences for minority individuals and groups.

In short, preliminary evidence suggests that on balance federal child development activities have actually perpetuated the effects of institutional racism, for as presently constituted and implemented, these programs appear to maintain minority group subordination and powerlessness within their societal contexts.

The recommendations which follow take note of these realities and identify means through which they can begin to be addressed, in all agencies concerned with young children in general, and in the Office of Child Development in particular.

III Recommendations

The following list of recommendations does not purport to be exhaustive. Provided are rather some basic suggestions for

new departures in federal programming, which if followed, could have significant impact in reducing the inequities fostered by institutional racism. It should also be noted that although these recommendations are directly applicable to federal agencies involved in child development programming, many are equally relevant to federal activity in other program areas and hence can easily be adapted for broader impact. For central to the proposals is a conviction that federal programs must have positive programming consequences for minority groups if the phenomenon of racism is ever to loosen its grip upon the nation's institutions.

A. Agency-Wide Recommendations

1. In order to maximize program benefits for minority groups, child development policy must be governed by the following policy guidelines:

a. The federal government has the primary responsibility for assuring equity to competing interests in American society.

b. Racial minorities have special interests as participants in a pluralistic society.

c. Minority individuals cannot be viewed outside of the context of the social groups of which they are a part.

d. Racism is destructive of the nation's social fibre and must be eliminated, accordingly:

1) Compensatory action is required to effect changes eliminating the subordination of minority groups.

2) Minority group empowerment is in the national

interest.

2. Recognizing that valid programming requires the "capability to ask the right questions," federal agencies should encourage the involvement of minority groups in goal and policy research, including:

a. The identification of values and value premises.

b. The identification of problems which programs have been initiated and implemented to solve.

c. The generation of policy alternatives based upon value premises and problem statements which are valid from a minority perspective.

3. In view of the inadequate information presently available, there is a need to support research for the purpose of improving both the data base and analytical tools required to identify and assess the short and long-range distributional consequences of government programs.

4. Federal agencies should support efforts of minority groups to design new evaluative approaches for determining whether federal programs have resulted in benefits or costs from their unique perspective.

5. Federal agencies should provide support for the identification of individual and institutional practices and procedures which result in the continued subordination of minority groups.

6. In recognition that many federal activities occur in a knowledge and experiential vacuum, feedback mechanisms must be established and institutionalized to ensure representation in all programming processes of the viewpoints of minorities affected by federal programs.

7. Federal grants and contracts must be targeted to ensure that minority groups receive equitable shares of institutional resources. Such action should be accompanied by vigorous outreach campaigns and the provision of technical assistance sustained over time to overcome the effects of informal and institutionalized exclusionary practices in the past and present.

8. Minority representation among decision-makers and those who have access to them in federal child-related agencies, must be increased at all governmental levels and in all organizational settings, in accordance with standards of equity which take the following into consideration:

a. The percentages of minorities among those served by programs of the agency in question.

b. The underrepresentation of minorities in all agencies surveyed at present.

c. The need for compensatory action to offset institutional racism's effects.

9. Federal agencies should develop operational policy directives, which encourage the use of federal child development resources of all kinds and at all governmental levels, as catalysts for group as well as individual advancement.

B. Recommendations Concerning the Office of Child Development Immediate

1. The Associate Chief of the Children's Bureau should convene a panel of minority experts in child development and related fields to critique the position paper,"Policy, Programming and Research in Child Development: An Assessment from a Minority Perspective," of which this document is a part, and

to make recommendations for the continuation and expansion of the study effort under the auspices of a minority agency, organization or institution.

2. The (Acting) Director of OCD should initiate an immediate investigation to verify the group and individual concerns expressed by minority personnel (see Appendix C) and should develop a phased timetable for taking corrective action, with provisions for feedback regarding procedures implemented and results obtained.

3. The now-vacant position of Director of the Research and Evaluation Division should be filled by a member of a minority group.

Short-Term

1. A member of a minority group should be appointed as Director of the Office of Child Development, a position now vacant, and provisions should be made for meaningful consultation with the full range of minority organizations and professional caucuses concerned with children and youth prior to his or her selection.

2. Research and evaluation FY 1974 funds should be earmarked to support the following:

a. Minority participation in each of the priority areas identified in OCD's long- and short-term Research and Demonstration plan for the Secretary.

b. Minority research needs such as those to be identified by the experts referred to above and in a 1972 Porgram Planning report of the Center for the Study of Minority Group Mental Health Programs (see Appendix D).

3. OCD should initiate an outreach campaign to minority

agencies, organizations and institutions to inform them of available child development resources, utilizing to the fullest extent possible the services of minorities on a grant or contractual basis.

4. Minority members should have substantial representation on all panels which review proposals for OCD grants and contracts.

5. To facilitate planning and affirmative action, the data base regarding minority participation in OCD sponsored activities must be improved including:

a. Ethnic identification of children and their families involved in OCD service, experimental and demonstration projects.

b. Ethnic identification of project sponsors and the composition of project personnel (professional and non-professional).

c. Data concerning the participation in OCD of minority contractors, vendors and individual consultants.

6. OCD should develop effective feedback mechanisms to ensure communication between the intended recipients of program benefits and decision-makers, including such devices as the following:

a. National Head Start conferences should be reinstated and expanded.

b. Research grantees should be required to coordinate their activities with Consumer Councils comprised of the parents, guardians and representatives of research subjects.

c. Panels of minority consultants should be developed

to advise all OCD decision-makers concerning the consequences for minorities of their short- and long-term decisions.

7. OCD must move to make its own staff more reflective at all levels of the majority Black, Spanish-speaking, Indian and other racial minorities it serves through OCD-funded projects. Of particular importance is the hiring of persons who have responsibility for shaping policy, supervising staff and allocating program funds, and who have sufficient authority to ensure the incorporation of the minority perspective in key programming processes.

Long-Term

1. Following the example of the Office of Education through NCERD, OCD should incorporate into long-term budgetary projections, provisions for the development of minority organizational resources, to ensure the representation of the minority perspective on a continuing institutionalized basis (e.g., multi-year funding of Child Development Institutes at minority colleges and universities, long-term support for minority advocacy organizations).

2. Support of long-term research and evaluation projects should be provided for the purpose of determining from a minority perspective the implications and actual consequences of OCD's present policies, programming efforts and research activities for minority groups.

IV Conclusion

The "precipitous decline in public confidence" in government has become a matter of urgent concern among citizens in all sections of the nation. As a major cause of this crisis of confidence, the present Chief Executive has cited: "the

chronic gap that exists between the publicity and promise attendant to the launching of a new Federal program - and that program's eventual performance."[1]

This document has sought to describe the role of institutional racism in not only maintaining that "gap" but for minority groups in further distorting potential program benefits into negative consequences which maintain their subordination and exclusion. That trend can be reversed, not by short-term measures and symbolic gestures borne of expediency, but by the recognition of the need for equity and justice as a critical prerequisite for the survival of the Republic.

Federal child development agencies, as all other governmental institutions, can play critical roles in realizing the positive promise of federal program efforts. Minority groups will benefit directly from the creative utilization of federal resources for their advancement and empowerment. But white America will profit no less, for indeed:

> Unless our political institutions and administrative systems create an environment in which power among the classes and sections is so balanced that they are compelled to make concessions to each other, no one can expect to benefit and ultimately everyone will lose.[2]

F O O T N O T E S

CHAPTER III

SECTION I

[1] In this sense, defined as institutions organized around universal "conative" needs and functions, which are common to all cultures, i.e., political, economic, military, kinship and religion. See H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, Character and Social Structure: The Psychology of Social Institutions; Harcourt Brace: New York, 1953.

[2] Smith identifies seven elements common to all institutions: norms, structure, stability and persistence, functions, sanctions, regularized social interaction and influencibility of material culture. H. E. Smith, "Toward a Clarification of the Concept of Social Institutions," Sociology and Social Research, January 1964, 48: pp. 197-206.

[3] In addition to the classic work on bureaucracies by Weber, Anthony Downs' more recent assessment of bureaucratic institutions has been a useful resource for this investigation.

Max Weber, "Bureaucracy" in From Max Weber; Essays in Sociology, translated by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, Oxford University Press: New York, 1962, pp. 196-244.

Anthony Downs, Inside Bureaucracy, Little, Brown and Co.: Boston, 1967.

[4] See Jordan for a detailed exposition of the evolvement of racial attitudes in early America.

Winthrop D. Jordan, White over Black, Penguin Books: Baltimore, 1969.

[5] Anthony Downs, Racism in America and How to Combat It, The United States Commission on Civil Rights, January 1970, pp. 19-24.

[6] For example, renowned historians at Columbia and Johns Hopkins Universities such as J. W. Burgess were prestigious popularizers of the concept of the "white man's burden" in the late ninteenth century. In more recent times, Professors Arthur Jensen and William Schockly have made significant contributions to racist theory through their "genetic" research and findings.

[7] For discussion of the role individuals can play in combating racism, see Robert W. Terry, For Whites Only, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company: Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1970.

8 See Arnold Rose's introduction in The Institutions of Advanced Societies, Arnold M. Rose, ed., University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, 1958, p. 8.

9 Harold M. Baron, "The Web of Urban Racism," Institutional Racism in America, ed. by Louis L. Knowles and Kenneth Prewitt, Prentice-Hall, Inc.: Englewood Cliffs, NJ, pp. 142-3.

10 Charles Crawford Irvine, Institutions and Institutional Change, unpublished dissertation presented to the Faculty of Princeton University in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, January 1942, p. 62.

11 Downs, Racism, op. cit., p. 6.

12 James T. Bonnen, "The Absence of Knowledge of Distributional Impacts: An Obstacle to Effective Public Program Analysis and Decisions," The Analysis and Evaluation of Public Expenditures: The PPB System, U. S. Government Printing Office: Washington, 1969, p. 421.

13 Edward H. Litchfield, "Notes on a General Theory of Administration," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. I, 1956, pp. 1607, 21.

14 Bertram M. Gross, Organizations and their Managing, The Free Press, 1964, p. 557.

15 Wholey uses the term "project" to distinguish programming operations at this final level of implementation.

Joseph S. Wholey and Associates, Federal Evaluation Policy, The Urban Institute: Washington, D. C., 1970, p. 24.

15a Charles O. Jones, An Introduction to the Study of Public Policy, Belmont, Cal., Wadsworth Publishing Co., Inc., 1970, p. 47.

16 Herbert Emmerich, Federal Organization and Administrative Management, The University of Alabama Press: Alabama, 1971, p. 180.

17 David Braybrooke and Charles E. Lindblom, A Strategy of Decision, New York, The Free Press, 1970, p. 102.

18 Gross, op. cit., p. 559.

19 Drucker as quoted by Gross.
Gross, op. cit., p. 558 (see also footnote).

20 Ibid., p. 562.

21 Downs, Inside Bureaucracy, op. cit., Chapter XV.

22 Gross, op.cit., p. 563.

[23] Herbert Simon, Administrative Behavior - A Study of Decision-Making Processes in Administrative Organization, MacMillan Co.: New York, 1947, p. 228.

[24] See Levine's account of the development of the NABS-JOBS program in the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Robert A. Levine, Policy Analysis and Economic Opportunity Programs, a paper available through The Urban Institute, Washington, D. C., pp. 6-7.

[25] Gross, op. cit., p. 569.

[26] Ibid., p. 574.

[27] Gerhard Colm and Luther Gulick, Program Planning for National Goals, National Planning Association: November, 1968.

[28] Harold Seidman, Politics,Position and Power, Oxford University Press: New York, 1970, p. 271.

[29] Policy-Making in American Government, ed. by Edward V. Schneier, Basic Books, Inc.: New York, 1959, pp. 173-4.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid., p. 172.

[32] A. Allan Schmid, "Effective Public Policy and the Government Budget: A Uniform Treatment of Public Expenditures and Public Rules," The Analysis and Evaluation of Public Expenditure, op. cit., pp. 579ff.

[33] PPBS concepts were applied initially in the Department of Defense under Secretary MacNamara. Their widespread utilization was greatly facilitated by an Executive Order signed by President Johnson on August 25, 1965, establishing the system throughout the federal government.

[34] Seidman, op. cit., p. 211.

[35] Downs, Inside Bureaucracy, op. cit., p. 249.

[36] Murray L. Weidenbaum, "Budget 'Uncontrollability' as an Obstacle to Improving the Allocation of Government Resources," The Analysis and Evaluation of Public Expenditures, op. cit., pp. 357ff.

[37] Downs, Inside Bureaucracy, op. cit., p. 262.

[38] Ibid., p. 266.

[39] Litchfield, op. cit., p. 24.

[40] Braybrooke and Lindblom, op. cit., p. 70.

[41] It was discovered by the investigator that the influence of subordinates was greater than that of the superior on decisions involving both routine and "non-programmed" matters.

Benjamin Walter, Bureaucratic Communications: A Statistical Analysis of Influence, Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, September, 1963, p. 70.

[42] Downs, Inside Bureaucracy, op. cit., p. 135.

[43] Charles L. Schultze, "The Role of Incentives, Penalties and Rewards in Attaining Effective Policy," The Analysis and Evaluation of Public Expenditures, op. cit., pp. 202-3.

[44] Carl Horland, "Psychology of the Communication Process" in Communications in Modern Society, Wilbur Schramm, ed., Urbana, Ill., 1948, p. 59.

[45] Jones, op. cit., p. 61.

[46] Downs, Inside Bureaucracy, op. cit., Chapter X.

[47] Litchfield, op. cit., p. 17.

[48] Bonnen, op. cit., p. 428. It should be noted that federal expenditures in the research and demonstration budgeting category are estimated to approach $17.8 billion in FY 1973.

[49] Jule M. Sugarman, "Research, Evaluation and Public Policy: An Invited Editorial," Child Development, Vol. 41, No. 2, June, 1970, pp. 263ff.

[50] Francis G. Caro, "Issues in the Evaluation of Social Programs," Review of Educational Research, Vol. 41, No. 2, April 1971, p. 89.

[51] Testimony of the Honorable Robert H. Finch, before the U. S. House of Representatives, Committee on Education and Labor, Hearings on the Extension of Elementary and Secondary Programs, Part IV, Government Printing Office: Washington, 1969.

[52] Wholey, op. cit., p. 23.

[53] Ibid., p. 24.

[54] Caro, op. cit., pp. 90-91.

[55] Wholey, op. cit., p. 46.

[56] John W. Evans, "Evaluating Social Action Programs," Social Science Quarterly, p. 578.

[57] Peter F. Drucker, The Age of Discontinuity, Harper & Row: New York, 1959, pp. 233-42.

[58] Emmerich, op. cit., pp. 15-6.

[59] Jones, op. cit., p. 73.

[60] John Dewey, How We Think, D. C. Heath: Boston, 1910, p. 106.

[61] Jones, op. cit., p. 36.

[62] Schneier, op. cit., p. 5. Also Litchfield, op. cit., p. 16.

[63] Levine, op. cit., pp. 30-1.

[64] Gunnar Myrdall, Value in Social Theory, Harper & Bros., New York, 1958.

[65] Caro, op. cit., p. 90.

[66] A further elaboration of this point can be found in a paper prepared by Nicols, McFarland, and Schulterbrandt of the Center for Studies of Child and Family Mental Health, NIMH.

Edwin J. Nichols, George C. McFarland, and Joy G. Schulterbrandt, Child Mental Health in the 70's, a paper presented at the American Psychological Association, Honolulu, Hawaii, September 6, 1972.

[67] Jones, op. cit., pp. 49-50.

[68] Ibid., p. 39.

[69] A. Myrick Freeman, III, "A Project Design and Evaluation with Multiple Objectives," The Analysis and Evaluation of Public Expenditures, op. cit., p. 567.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Jones, op. cit., p. 141.

[72] This categorization represents a modification of Khan's schema of benefits.

Cost Benefit Analysis, ed. by Anwar Tahmasp Khan, National Institute of Public Administration, Lahore, Pakistan: 1965, p. 5.

[73] Freeman, op. cit., p. 567.

[74] Otto A. Davis and Morton I. Kamien, "Externalities, Information and Alternative Collective Action" and Allen V. Kneese and Ralph C. d'Arge, "Pervasive External Costs and the Response of Society," The Analysis and Evaluation of Public Expenditures,

op. cit., pp. 67-86 and 87-118, respectively.

75 Bonnen, op. cit., p. 431.

76 For a discussion of the role of incentives, see Schultze, op. cit., pp. 201ff.

77 Wholey, op. cit., p. 21. See also Steiner for a critique of efficiency as an exclusive concern in public program evaluation. Peter O. Steiner, "The Public Sector and the Public Interest," The Analysis and Evaluation of Public Expenditures, op. cit., pp. 41-2.

78 Wholey, op. cit., p. 15.

79 Selma Mushkin and John Cotten, "Systematic Analysis and Grants-in-Aid in a Federal System," The Analysis and Evaluation of Public Expenditures, op. cit., p. 339.

80 Bureau of the Budget, Measuring Productivity, Government Printing Office: Washington, D. C., 1964, p. 4.

81 Edward J. Mishan, Cost-Benefit Analysis - An Introduction, Praeger Publishers: New York - Washington, 1971, p. 118.

82 Wholey, op. cit., p. 33.

83 Bonnen, op. cit., pp. 425-6.

84 Caro, op. cit., p. 102.

85 Bonnen, op. cit.,p. 429.

86 Colm and Gulick, op. cit., p. 4.

87 Most recent statistics estimate the median income of Blacks as $6,200 annually, compared to $10,240 for white families. In reality, these figures are exaggerated, since the income of working wives, more predominant among Blacks than whites, is aggregated in the total.

88 A recent study estimated that "at the present rate of increase of Blacks in the supergrade workforce, they will not hold 11% (their population porportion) of the jobs until the year 2042." See "Civil Service seen Furthering Job Bias," The Washington Post, June 25, 1972, D 4.

89 James S. Coleman, Race Relations and Social Change, a paper prepared for a Conference on Social Science Research in Race Relations at the University of Michigan, April 7-9, 1967, p. 1.

90 Ira Katznelson, "Power in the Reformulation of Race Research," Race, Change and Urban Society, ed. by Peter Orleans and William

Russell Ellis, Jr., Sage Publications: Beverly Hills, CA, 1971, pp. 67-8.

91 S. M. Miller and Pamela Roby, The Future of Inequality, Basic Books, Inc.: New York, 1970, p. 12.

92 Kenneth J. Arrow, "The Organization of Economic Activity: Issues Pertinent to the Choice of Market Versus Non-Market Allocation," The Analysis and Evaluation of Public Expenditures, op. cit., p. 62.

93 "Economic development shapes both political systems and policy outcomes, and most of the association that occurs between system characteristics and policy outcomes can be attributed to the influence of economic development."

Thomas Dye, Politics, Economics and the Public: Policy Outcomes in the American States, Rand McNally: Chicago, 1966, p. 293.

94 See Coleman for a more extended discussion of the conversion of minority group deficits to assets. Coleman, op. cit.

95 As conceptualized by Chester Pierce, M. D., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

96 The counterpart in sociological terms of those resources and capabilities considered by economists to be prerequisites for economic "take-off," as conceptualized by Rostow and others.

W. W. Rostow, The Stages of Economic Growth, University Press: Cambridge, 1961.

97 Rashi Fein, "An Economic and Social Profile of the Negro American," The Negro American, ed. by Talcott Parsons and Kenneth B. Clark, Beacon Press: Boston, 1968, p. 126.

98 Samuel F. Yette, The Choice: The Issue of Black Survival in America, G. P. Putnams' Sons: New York, 1971.

99 William Ryan, Blaming the Victim, Pantheon Books: New York, 1971, XV.

100 Quoted in an Internal Memorandum, "Black Consciousness Programmatic Implications," The Urban Institute, March 4, 1969.

SECTION II (A)

[1] The list is not fully comprehensive although the great majority of federal program efforts is included. Since the categorization of programs was made on the basis of primary activities, there is some overlap.

[2] Subject to Congressional action, i.e., the approval of annual appropriations and the amendment of enabling legislation. It is recognized that these programs actually provide support for child care services with the context of legislation aimed at broader constituencies. There is no federal program which funds such activities directly. However, support provided under this category has been semi-institutionalized in the past, although the final impact of the Revenue Sharing Act of 1972 may later alter that situation considerably.

[3] Reference here is to regulations published to guide the administration of the Neighborhood Facilities Program sponsored by HUD and the discussion of racism contained in the Report to the Director made by the Ad Hoc Committee on Child Mental Health.

[4] In the Office of Special Concerns in the Office of the Secretary for example, there is no office which presently attends to the interests of Black Americans, although units representing other minority groups exist. Out of thirty-four grants administered by Minority Studies Program in SRS, moreover, twenty-one were awarded to Spanish-speaking recipients while only three went to Blacks.

[5] The Comprehensive Child Development Act passed by Congress in 1972 and vetoed by the President would have provided such recognition to minority groups for the first time in child-oriented national legislation.

[6] This is reflected in the prevalent references in agency policy statements to the "disadvantaged" and "culturally deprived," which are often used as synonyms for minority groups.

[7] The Associate Chief of the Children's Bureau, Office of Child Development, Office of the Secretary, DHEW. Because the Director of the Division of Special Mental Health Programs, NIMH, is serving in an acting capacity, he has not been included.

[8] NIMH has such a mechanism available through its Center for the Study of Minority Group Mental Health Programs (or the Minority Issues Center). Interviewees also reported that the Bureau of Educational Personnel Development, Office of Education, had initiated a process in which consumers participated in agency decision-making processes.

[9] OCD's Research Advisory Group consists of seven minority members out of twenty or thirty percent. The percentage of minorities on other committees was considerably less.

[10] Agency guidelines concerning the administration of Title IV B interpret the purpose of the legislation as initially enacted as "assisting the state in establishing, extending and strengthening public child welfare service." Thus, it is recognized that the purpose of Title IV, Part B of the Social Security Act can only be realized through progressive, continuing and consistent expansion and growth. "Service Programs for Families and Children;" Title IV, Parts A & B, Social Security Act, Community Services Administration, SRS, DHEW, reprinted 1971, p. 33.

[11] Reference here is made to the six Assistant Regional Directors of OCD, the Assistant Director for Administration of OCD, and the Director of the Division of Special Mental Health Programs, NIMH.

[12] The field visit to the HEW Center revealed the following: (a) although 70% of the center enrollees were members of minority groups, both the Director and the Social Worker are white; (b) there is no significant participation of parents or community representatives in the activities of the center. The parent advisory board does not have the authority to make policy; (c) Thiokol Chemical Corporation is a white firm, based in the South with no demonstrable experience in working with minority groups; and (d) there is little apparent sensitivity to minority concerns on the part of the center's leadership, as reflected in literature concerning the center and in a personal interview with the director.

SECTION II (B)

[1] The total budget for experimental programs amounted to $3.2 million in FY 1972. They include Health Start, Home Start, PCC Advocacy and Planned Variations.

[2] According to recent estimates, there are 255 states and communities in which 4-C units have either been recognized or are in the "process of organizing and applying for recognition."

[3] An additional position at this level, the Director of the Research and Evaluation Division, is currently vacant.

[4] Assistant Regional Directors have considerable authority but the extent of their influence is limited by constraints imposed by HEW Regional Directors as well as by OCD decision-makers in Washington.

[5] See "A Report on Evaluation Studies of Project Head Start," Lois-ellin Datta, National Coordinator, Head Start Evaluation, Project Head Start, OCD, DHEW, a paper presented at the 1969 Psychological Association Convention.

[6] See Milton F. Shore, Norman A. Milgran and Charlotte Malasky, "The Effectiveness of an Enrichment Program for Disadvantaged Young Children," American Journal of Orthropsychiatry, April 1971.

[7] It might well be determined that institutional racism has been strengthened by OCD sponsored programs, particularly in view of the lack of OCD support for institutional alternatives sponsored by minority groups.

SECTION IV

[1] Richard M. Nixon, Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, October 13, 1969, p. 1399.

[2] Harold Seidman, Politics, Position, and Power, New York: Oxford University Press, London, 1970, p. 274.

APPENDIX A

Federal Program Descriptions

DIRECT SERVICES

AGENCY:	Division of Child and Family Services, Community Services Administration, Social and Rehabilitation Services, HEW
PROGRAM NAME:	Title IV-A & B, Social Security Act
LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY:	Title IV, Part A & B of the Social Security Act as amended in 1962 (PL 87-543), as amended in 1967 (PL 90-248)

PURPOSE:

Sec. 527 (a) and of PL 87-543 provides a relevant statement of purpose:

Sec. 527 (a). In order to assist the states to provide adequately for the care and protection of children whose parents are, for part of the day, working or seeking work, or otherwise absent from the home or unable for other reasons to provide parental supervision, the portion of the appropriate...shall be allotted by the Sec. among the states solely for use, under the state plan developed as provided in this part, for day care services....

Further clarification of policy regarding Title IV, A & B are to be found under Title 45, Chapter II, Part 220 of the Federal Register, published Jan. 28, 1969 and in a further interpretation of those regulations "Guides on Federal Regulations Governing Service Programs for Families and Children: Title IV, Part A & B, Social Security Act," as reprinted in 1971. The latter document specifies the following as objectives:

Regarding Title IV-A:

Overall service objectives specified in the 1967 service amendments are: family child welfare services for each family and each appropriate member for the purpose of attaining or retaining capability for self-supporter care, maintaining and strengthening family life and fostering child development.

Regarding Title IV-B:

The primary objective for child welfare services is to promote the well-being of children through the provision of services necessary to help parents carry out their responsibilities for their children and, as needed, to care for children away from their own homes....Child welfare services under Title IV, Part B are to be available to all children without regard to financial need, legal residence, social status,

race, religion or national origin. It should further be noted that Federal Interagency Requirements (as revised) apply to any day care projects receiving funds under this title.

PROGRAM ACTIVITIES:

In view of the primary responsibility of state welfare agencies for the actual delivery of services to children, activities at regional and national offices concerning this particular program are limited, consisting primarily of reviewing and approving state plans, monitoring and evaluating state activities and providing technical assistance.

PLANNING:

The state plan is the chief planning vehicle for this program.

BUDGET:

Under the provisions of Title IV, the federal government provides 75% of the cost of day care and child-related services and the state government (or local governments, private organizations, Model Cities programs, etc.) must provide the matching 25%. Funds spent for child care vary from state to state because there are no requirements concerning a minimum standard necessary for quality service.

Until passage of the Revenue Sharing Act of 1972, funds available for these purposes were open-ended, i.e., to be matched by the federal government, as long as states presented their 25% share. The full impact of the closing out of this authority has yet to be assessed, but it is clear that the provisions of the new Act have had serious repercussions for the financing of Title IV-A & B activities in certain locales (e.g., New York City and the District of Columbia). Funds provided for day care under Title IV-A & B totalled $224 million in FY 1971 and were estimated at $490 million in FY 1973.

ORGANIZATION AND STAFFING:

There are approximately 60 professionals in the CSA Division, of which twenty-one are members of minority groups. Chief decision-making responsibility lies with the Director who is white, his two minority deputies and an Executive Committee of which approximately one-fourth are members of minority groups.

However, real decision-making concerning actual child care activity lies with state welfare agencies. Information was not available concerning the participation of minorities at that level.

TARGET POPULATION:

Although statistics concerning the racial identification of children receiving child care through this program are not available, a study completed in 1971 revealed that minorities comprised 45.2% of all families receiving AFDC, as follows:

RACE	1971 PERCENT
White	48.3
Black	43.3
Amer. Ind.	1.2
Other	.7
Unknown	6.5

GRANTS AND CONTRACTING:

See section on Research and Demonstration for discussion of CSA research activities. No specific information concerning SRS contracting activity was available.

F O O T N O T E S

[1] "Guides on Federal Regulations Governing Service Programs for Families and Children: Title IV, Parts A & B, Social Security Act, Social and Rehabilitation Services, Community Services Administration, HEW, 1971, pp. 19-20.

[2] Ibid., p. 32.

[3] Special Analyses of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 1973, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1972, p. 144.

[4] "Findings of the 1971 AFDC Study," Part I: Demographic and Program Characteristics, Program Statistics and Data Systems, National Center for Social Statistics, SRS, December 22, 1971, p. 3.

DIRECT SERVICES

AGENCY: Office of Child Development, Office of the Secretary, HEW

PROGRAM NAME: Head Start

LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY: Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (PL 88-452) as amended by PL 90-222, 1967

PURPOSE:

As a Community Action Program, authorized by the Economic Opportunity Act, Head Start shares in the overall purposes of all such programs, as follows:

Title I, Sec. 2 of PL 88-452:

> It is...the policy of the United States to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty in this Nation by opening to everyone the opportunity for education and training, the opportunity to work, and the opportunity to live in decency and dignity.

Sec. 204(d), PL 88-452:

> ...in extending assistance under this section the Director shall give special consideration to programs which give promise of effecting a permanent increase in the capacity of individuals, groups, and communities to deal with the problems without further assistance.

Sec. 201, PL 90-22:

> Its (this title) basic purpose is to stimulate a better focusing of all available local, state, private, and federal resources upon the goal of enabling low-income families, and low-income individuals of all ages, in rural and urban areas, to attain the skills, knowledge, and motivations and secure the opportunities needed for them to become fully self-sufficient.

In addition, Head Start is described as a special program in its

own right under Sec. 222(1) of PL 90-222 as follows:

> A program to be known as 'Project Headstart' focused upon children who have not reached the age of compulsory school attendance which (a) will provide such comprehensive health, nutritional, education, social, and other services as the Director finds will aid the children to attain their full potential, and (b) will provide for the direct participation of the parents of such children in the development, conduct, and overall program direction at the local level.

More specific policy statements regarding Head Start as a community action program and as a program in its own right are to be found under Title 45, part 1060 1-2 of Chapter X in the Federal Register and in the Federal Register Vol. 36, No. 40 - Feb. 27, 1971, respectively.

Head Start is administered by the Office of Child Development which has identified three major missions: 1) to mount and operate programs for children; 2) to coordinate the activities of all federal agencies involved in programming for children, youth and their families; and 3) to act as an advocate and innovator regarding programming for children and their parents. Specific operational objectives for Fiscal Year 1972 included: 1) preparation for implementation of welfare reform, day care and the improvement of day care quality; 2) to improve the quality of services available to Head Start children and where possible to increase the number of children werved; 3) to develop innovations in the provision of services to children; 4) to prepare a plan and specific strategies for the implementation of recommendations made by the 1970 White House Conference on Children.[1]

PROGRAM ACTIVITIES:

OCD administered activities which relate to Head Start include:

Head Start - the provision of comprehensive developmental services for approximately 300,000 three to five year old children, most of whom are economically disadvantaged as defined by the Economic Opportunity Act.

Experimental Programs - support for a variety of childhood program models, including Homestart, Health Start, and Parent and Child Centers.

Career Development and Technical Assistance - staff development and support services now largely decentralized to ten regions and provided primarily on a contractual basis by institutions

of higher learning (Supplementary Training Program) and by individual firms. Child Development Associate Program is supported by these funds.

Program Development and Innovation Services - the development of technical policy standards, guides, concepts and models in specific program areas (i.e., training, nutrition, health, education, psychology, parent involvement, volunteer participants, social services) in order to enhance the capacity of local projects and institutions to deliver quality child care services.

See Research and Demonstration Section and OCD Case Study for description of Head Start evaluation activities and other activities sponsored by OCD.

PLANNING:

Planning in OCD is the chief responsibility of the (Acting) Director and selected bureau and office heads and consultants, aided to some extent by a Planning and Analysis Staff. (See OCD Case Study for further details.)

BUDGET:

Federal outlays for Head Start projects and related activities have increased only minimally since 1971, or from $350 million to a projected $386 million for Fiscal Year 1973, pending Congressional action. Changes in the level of funding over time are mainly attributable to cost-of-living increases rather than expanded program commitments, thus allowing for no net increase in the number of projects supported other than through experimental programs and evaluation activities.

ORGANIZATION AND STAFFING:

Head Start is administered in part by the Office of Child Development, headed by a Director who reports through the Assistant Secretary for Administration to the Secretary of HEW. Primary administrative responsibilities in headquarters concerning Head Start are handled by the Director of OCD (Acting), Chief of the Bureau of Child Development Services and the Assistant Director for Administration. However, decision-making concerning the funding of individual projects has been directly delegated by the Secretary of HEW, pursuant to a transference of such authority from the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, to the ten HEW Regional Directors who have redelegated varying degrees of their authority and responsibility to Assistant Regional Directors for OCD.

Neither the Assistant Secretary for Administration, the former Director of OCD, the present Acting Director nor the Associate Director/Chief of the Bureau of Child Development Services

is a member of a minority group. In Regional offices whites comprise eight of ten Regional Directors and five of ten Assistant Regional Directors for OCD. Minorities involved in Head Start and related activities are represented by the Associate Director for Administration at OCD in Washington, Regional Directors in Regions III & IX and Assistant Regional Directors for OCD in Regions I, II, IV, VIII & IX. (See OCD case-study for additional discussion).

DELIVERY SYSTEM:

Head Start program activities are administered by HEW and Regional Offices. Governors of states have the right to review grants awarded to projects and must indicate their disapproval within thirty days. The Secretary of HEW can overrule state-level vetoes.

TARGET POPULATION:

Although recent agency statistics are not yet available, census figures from 1969[2] indicate that minority participation in full year Head Start programs was as follows:

1. Black -	52.6
2. Caucasian -	23.5
3. Mexican Americans -	10.0
4. P. Rican	5.8
5. Amer. Indian -	2.6
6. Oriental -	0.2
7. Eskimo -	0.2
8. Other -	.8
9. Not reported -	4.3

GRANTS AND CONTRACTING:

Head Start grants and contracting activities are highly decentralized, both in the national office and from the national office to regions. In addition, reporting requirements are either non-existent or loosely enforced. Thus, there is no central repository of accurate information concerning the contracting process and hence no accurate statistics concerning actual minority participation. It is clear that the numbers of minority contractors have increased in recent years primarily through the mechanisms of the bidding process and (8A) set aside provisions. Minority participation regarding sole source contracting and consultantships however has remained quite limited.

F O O T N O T E S

[1] "OCD Operational Objectives 1972," an internal staff memorandum dated August 22, 1971. A statement of objectives for FY 1973 is not yet available.

[2] Profiles of Children, White House Conference on Children 1970, Washington, D. C., p. 118.

RESEARCH AND DEMONSTRATION

AGENCY: Educational Services Division, Bureau of Education for the Handicapped, Office of Education, DHEW, Division of Research, BEH, OE, DHE

PROGRAM NAME: Handicapped Children's Early Education Program BEH Research Projects

LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY: Education of the Handicapped Act, PL 91-230, originally Title VI of Elementary Secondary Education Act, PL 89-750

PROGRAM PURPOSE:

As indicated by Sec. 623 of PL 91-230: "The Commissioner is authorized to arrange...for the development and carrying out by such agencies and organizations of experimental preschool and early education programs for handicapped children which the Commissioner determines show promise of promoting a comprehensive and strangthened approach to the special problems of such children....Such programs shall include activities and services designed to (1) facilitate the intellectual, environmental, physical, mental, social and cognitive development of such children; (2) encourage the participation of the parents of such children in the development and operation of any such program; and (3) acquaint the community to be served by any such program with the problems and potentialities of such children.

And Sec. 624: (1) research to identify and meet the full range of special needs of handicapped children; (2) development or demonstration of new, or improvement in existing, methods, approaches or techniques, which would contribute to the adjustment and education of such children....

Further clarification of agency policy regarding BEH's Early Education Program is made in the agency's Program Administrative Manual, publisned December 1971.

PROGRAM ACTIVITIES:

Support of the development of early education models to demonstrate a variety of approaches to teaching young handicapped children.

Provision of aid-to-states in the form of supplementary financial and technical assistance for programs involving preschool and school-aged handicapped children.

Other related activities such as training personnel for the education of the handicapped, research in the education of the handicapped, provision of instructional media for the handicapped, development of special programs for the deaf-blind and children with specific learning disabilities, and support of child advocacy projects.

PLANNING:

A program planning, policy and coordination staff exists with the Bureau. More specific information was not available.

BUDGET:

Total expenditures in FY 1971 for early childhood research and demonstration projects amounted to $16.8 million. In FY 1972 approximately $7 million was spent in the Handicapped Children's Early Education Program to support 70 projects. Slightly over $2 million was allocated to research activities, of which an unspecified amount was allocated in the child development area.

ORGANIZATION AND STAFFING:

There are eight minority professionals in BEH out of a total of approximately sixty. Six of the eight are in the Educational Services Division and two in the Research Division. There is no minority representation in the other major organization unit, the Division of Training Programs, nor in the Office of the Associate Commissioner. There is no minority representation among division or branch heads.

DELIVERY SYSTEM:

There are no BEH representatives in regional or state offices. Decisions concerning the funding of projects are made in the national office.

TARGET POPULATION:

Of approximately 5,000 children served by Early Education Project in FY 1972, some 300 were Black. (Other ethnic representation is not known.) There is reportedly a commitment to the "disadvantaged handicapped" in FY 1973's programming projections.

GRANTS AND CONTRACTING:

Any non-profit agency or organization - public or private - can apply for Early Childhood Program grants for up to three years.[1]

Of seventy projects active as of May, 1972, six were sponsored by minority grantees.[2] No information concerning minority participation in the research program was available at the time

of this study. Interviewees reported that there may soon be a commitment to increasing the number of minority grantees, particularly in the Early Childhood Program.

Most research supported by BEH is applied research. Although specific projections are not available, "the evidence suggests the future BEH research program will become increasingly action-oriented, continuing its tradition of development and demonstration in solving the problems of the handicapped."[3]

F O O T N O T E S

[1] A factor cited which impacts negatively upon the ability of minority groups to participate and benefit from BEH's programs is the agency requirement that projects become self-sustaining after the third year of funding. Minority groups are less likely to have the access to resources required to meet this criteria and hence may be disadvantaged from the outset in competing for program funds.

[2] One sponsor, the National Urban League, was funded to develop four projects in this period.

[3] "Toward Interagency Coordination," op. cit., p. 59.

RESEARCH AND DEMONSTRATION

AGENCY: Community Services Administration, Social Rehabilitation Services, DHEW

PROGRAM NAME: CSA Research

LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY: Title IV-B, Sec. 426 (limited) and Title XI, Sec. 1110 of the Social Security Act, as amended.

PURPOSE:

As reflected in Sections 426 and 1110:

> Grants can be authorized by the Secretary of HEW...for projects for the demonstration of the utilization of research (including findings resulting therefrom) in the field of child welfare in order to encourage experimental and special types of welfare services....
>
> ...research or demonstration projects such as those relating to the prevention and reduction of dependency, or which will aid in effecting coordination of planning between private and public welfare agencies or which will help improve the administration and effectiveness of programs carried on or assisted under the Social Security Act and programs related thereto....

PROGRAM ACTIVITIES:

As reflected in a listing of grants from which CSA has lead responsibility the majority of grants provide resources to state welfare and other public and private agencies for a broad range of child-related research activities. No other specific information is available.

PLANNING:

No information available.

BUDGET:

Fiscal Year 1971 funding amounted to $1.7 million for thirteen new projects.

ORGANIZATION AND STAFFING:

Research grants are administered directly by the national office

with limited participation on the part of regional offices. See also CSA discussion of Title IV A & B under Direct Services.

TARGET POPULATION:

See CSA discussion of Title IV A & B.

GRANTS AND CONTRACTING:

As the result of an analysis of research programs as per July 28, 1972, in which CSA is involved (not limited to early childhood development and related activities):

a) Of fifty-six grants for which CSA has lead responsibility, (most of which were awarded to states) two were awarded to identifiable minority organizations and institutions.

b) Out of ninety-six grants for which CSA does not have lead responsibility, eleven were awarded to minority organizations and institutions.

In addition to continuing emphasis upon "providing high quality day care for infants and young children, demonstrating different types of child care arrangements including group care of infants, and devising means of building in socializing and developmental experiences," stress will also be given in FY 1973 to "development of new service delivery systems and community involvement in service projects." Specific priorities will be dissemination of findings, the holistic approach, child advocacy, family involvement and methodology.[1]

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[1] "Toward Interagency Coordination," op. cit., p. 57.

RESEARCH AND DEMONSTRATION

AGENCY: Office of Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, Office of the Secretary, DHEW

PROGRAM NAME: Research and Evaluation, Human Development Policy Group

LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY: No information available

PURPOSE:

As indicated in the report of the Interagency Panel:[1]

> "Serves a planning, coordinating and evaluative function: for programs of Secretarial and Administration concern (such as the Family Assistance Program and the Comprehensive Child Development Act), for areas of high priority not specifically under the jurisdiction of particular agencies, and for problems which cross-cut the concerns of different agencies."

PROGRAM ACTIVITIES:

Support of selected research and evaluation projects regarding targeted concerns of the Secretary.

Review and approval authority concerning research and evaluation plan of HEW agencies.

PLANNING:

A new planning system has recently been initiated within HEW, the Master Planning Calendar, the purpose of which is to develop an ongoing mechanism for long-range planning (over five years) involving central agency, regional office and state level inputs. The Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation will coordinate this overall effort, which may well have significant implications for minority groups (see OCD Case Study below).

There was no specific information available, however, at the time of the interview concerning planning activities in relation to the allocation of early childhood research funds by this Office.

BUDGET:

Funding for FY 1971 amounted to $933,000 for support of eleven new and continued evaluation projects.

TARGET POPULATION:

No information available.

GRANTS AND CONTRACTING:

All projects initiated and continued as of FY 1971 were evaluation projects.[2] It is anticipated that emphasis in FY 1973 will continue to be on policy studies, cost-benefit studies, projects to assist policy and research planning and "on the evaluation of programs of broad social interest, with a special concern for the development, care and education of disadvantaged children."[3]

F O O T N O T E S

[1] "Toward Interagency Coordination," op. cit., p. 41.

[2] Ibid., p. 61.

[3] The results of a study sponsored by OASPE now underway entitled "Cost Benefit Analysis of Programs for the Disadvantaged Children" contracted to Harvard University, should be of particular interest given the orientation of this investigation, both in terms of the evaluative criteria used to determine "costs" and "benefits" and the results obtained.

RESEARCH AND DEMONSTRATION

AGENCY: Maternal and Child Health Service (MCHS), Health Services and Mental Health Administration, DHEW

PROGRAM NAME: Maternal and Child Health Research Grants Program

LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY: Section 512, Title V of the Social Security Act

PURPOSE:

Sec. 512 describes the program's overall purpose as follows:

> ...the Secretary is authorized to make grants to or jointly financed cooperative arrangements...for research projects relating to maternal and child health services or crippled children's services which show promise of substantial contribution to the advancement thereof.

According to agency reports, the research grants program "aims to improve the operation, funding and general usefulness of maternal and child health and crippled children's services."1

See also Title 42, Chapter II, Part 205 of the Federal Register.

PROGRAM ACTIVITY:

a) Formula grant programs to states (Maternal and Child Health Services and State Crippled Children's Services).

b) Project grants (federal share 75%) for Maternity and Infant Care Projects; Preschool and School age children; Dental Health Projects and Projects for Intensive Care of Infants.

c) Training for health care and related services, particularly for mentally retarded children and children with multiple handicaps.

PLANNING:

No information available.

BUDGET:

The total budget for MCHS in FY 1971 was approximately $210 million of which $5.7 was appropriated for research activities. Of these funds $2.5 million are estimated to have funded early

childhood related research for a total of thirteen new projects in the same year.

ORGANIZATION AND STAFFING:

The total staff of MCHS numbers approximately 160 with 80 located in the national office and 80 in the ten regions. There are only two minority professionals in the National Office, the Deputy Director for Equal Opportunity and the Associate Director of Research.

As in other agencies, a non-federal Advisory Group reviews proposals recommended by staff and other consultants for funding before they are forwarded to the Director for final approval. According to reports, there have been no minority group representatives presently on the panel since the appointment of the Associate Chief of the Children's Bureau to his present position.

DELIVERY SYSTEM:

MCHS provides funds to states for the administration of the aforementioned state programs. Grants for service and research projects can be made by the Director to public or other non-profit institutions of higher learning and public or non-profit agencies and organizations.

TARGET POPULATION:

As indicated by agency reports, about 60% of all women admitted for maternity care in Maternal and Infant Care Projects are Black. Sixty-eight percent of registrants in Children and Youth Projects were members of minority groups.[2] There were no statistics available concerning the number of minority subjects of research projects.

GRANTS AND CONTRACTING:

Since the inception of the MCHS research program in 1964, a total of $42,067,365 in federal funds has been allocated for its purposes. The focus of research activity is applied research and the evaluation of delivery systems; support is not available for basic research.

An analysis of division activity as of June 30, 1972 reveals that of ninety-one active grants, only one was awarded to an identifiably minority institution. Of 127 grants completed as of June 30, 1972, only 1.5% went to minority institutions.

Tentative priorities established for research in FY 1973 and beyond include: health delivery systems for children; special needs of pregnant adolescents; nutritional status of children; health issues in group care facilities for very young children;

utilization of paraprofessional health personnel; development of family as a maternal health service; development of methodology and strategy for health program evaluation.[3]

F O O T N O T E S

[1] "Promoting the Health of Mothers and Children FY 1971," MCHS, HSMHA, Public Health Service, DHEW, p. 30.

[2] Op. cit., p. 17 and p. 21.

[3] "Toward Interagency Coordination," op. cit., p. 56.

RESEARCH AND DEMONSTRATION

AGENCY: Office of Economic Opportunity, Office of Planning, Research and Evaluation, Office of Program Development, Human Resources Division, Early Childhood Branch and Planning, Evaluation and Program Support Division.

PROGRAM NAME: Research and Demonstration Program

LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY: Economic Opportunity Act, as amended Title II, Sec. 232 , PL 90-22

PURPOSE:

See discussion of Head Start under Direct Services for description of overall purposes of EOA and Community Action Programs.

Specifically: "The Director may contract or provide financial assistance for pilot and demonstration projects conducted by public and private agencies which are designed to test or assist in the development of a new approach or method that will aid in overcoming special problems or otherwise in furthering the purposes of this title. He may also contract or provide financial assistance for research pertaining to the purposes of this title." (232(a))

As reflected in the report of the Interagency Panel, the mission of OEO's demonstration program can be described as follows: "The R & D Program is directly related to the solution of problems of poor families and their children and has had a major focus on the development, utilization and evaluation of day care and child care programs. Other programs having broad social effects...are also studied, along with means of effectively disseminating information."[1]

PROGRAM ACTIVITIES: (Partial List)

Designs and conducts experimental programs with the goal of phase-out by OPD and full-scale implementation in existing institutions elsewhere.

Identifies gaps and inadequacies in present efforts and develops alternative program models and strategies to meet those needs.

Evaluates creative, successful programs developed by local groups for replication. Develops program performance standards and monitoring and evaluation procedures.

PLANNING:

The Office of Planning, Research and Evaluation, OEO has overall

planning and evaluation responsibilities for the Office. The Planning, Evaluation and Program Support Division is also involved in these activities concerning OEO early childhood development programming.

BUDGET:

OEO activity in early childhood research was funded at the level of $5 million in FY 1971 for a total of fourteen new and continued projects.

ORGANIZATION AND STAFFING:

There is minimal minority representation among those who have primary decision-making responsibilities for child development programming, including the directorate of the Office of Planning, Research and Evaluation, leadership in the Office of Program Development and the Division of Human Resources and the Planning, Evaluation and Program Support Division. A Black Deputy Director of the Office of Program Development is the only minority representative in the organizational hierarchy. Moreover, observers interviewed noted that organizational charts did not accurately reflect authority in OEO so that minority office and division directors had considerably less influence upon decision-making than their white counterparts.

DELIVERY SYSTEM:

Although OEO operations are decentralized, decisions concerning the awarding of research and demonstration grants and contracts are made in the national office.

TARGET POPULATION:

No specific information available, but minorities comprise the majority among those served by many OEO programs.

GRANTS AND CONTRACTING:

Projects currently supported include an "Evaluation of Exemplary Day Care Programs" contracted with ABT Assoc. for the identification of ten programs to serve as demonstrations of alternative means of delivering adequate day care services. No other specific information concerning current grants or contracting activities was available.

Projections are that future OEO research will bear upon the study of workable alternatives to day care, such as income maintenance programs, parent employment programs, and the effect of changes in housing and basic living conditions; combination of programs designed to benefit children of various earning levels and study of methodology that will permit "criteria-based" program evaluation.[2]

F O O T N O T E S

[1] "Toward Interagency Coordination," op. cit., p. 43.

[2] Ibid., p. 61-2.

RESEARCH AND DEMONSTRATION

AGENCY:	Division of Research and Evaluation, Children's Bureau, Office of Child Development
PROGRAM NAME:	Research and Demonstration Projects, Evaluation Projects
LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY:	Social Security Act as amended (PL 90-248), Sec. 233, Title II, Part C, Economic Opportunity Act as amended (PL 91177)

PURPOSE:

The following goals and purposes for projects administered by this Division enumerated in the enabling legislation.

Sec. 426 - "...for special research and demonstration projects in the field of child welfare which are of regional or national significance and for special projects for the demonstration of new methods or facilities which show promise of substantial contribution to the advancement of child welfare."

Sec. 233(a) - "The Director (of OEO) shall provide for the continuing evaluation of programs under this title (Head Start), including their effectiveness in achieving stated goals, the impact on related programs, and the structure and mechanisms for the delivery of services and including, where appropriate, comparisons with proper control groups composed of persons who have not participated in such programs."

More specifically, the goal of the Division as outlined in 1971 is to award grants and contracts for the purpose of:

A. Conducting research in child welfare and child development to determine the best ways of meeting the cognitive, affective, social, medical, and health needs of the nation's children.

B. Establishing demonstration projects which are field-tested models or prototypes, to determine their feasibility in the delivery of services.

C. Evaluating the effectiveness of existing Head Start programs.

PROGRAM ACTIVITIES:

Related Program Activities Include:

Administration of grants.
Program Assistance in the development of a department-wide early

childhood research strategy.
Administration of Head Start evaluation funds and coordination of the development of an OCD-wide evaluation strategy.
Provision of leadership to the Federal Interagency Panel for Early Childhood Development Research.
Collection, analysis and interpretation of research reports on child life studies.
Study and identification of promising models for service programs.
Active promotion concerning the utilization of research funds.

BUDGET:

Funds administered by the R & E Division in FY 1972 amounted to $14 million. FY 1973 projections would increase that amount to $15.5 million. In both fiscal years, the major share of the division's appropriation will have gone to support the continuation of projects already underway. (See Case Study for further discussion.)

ORGANIZATION AND STAFFING:

The Division Director, a position presently vacant, reports directly to the Associate Chief of the Children's Bureau, who is a member of a minority group. The latter in turn is responsible to the Director of OCD. Until 1972, there were no other minority professionals involved in the division's activities. However, a number of minority staff members have been identified for positions within the Bureau and minority candidates are among those presently being considered as candidates for the directorship.

The Research Advisory Group, divided into two panels, Early Childhood and Youth and Family, is a group of non-federal experts appointed by the Secretary of HEW. They are involved in the decision-making process concerning grants but their recommendations are not binding. Of twenty members presently constituting that body, seven are members of minority groups.

DELIVERY SYSTEM:

Grants are encouraged by the division staff which meet priority interests for the current year. Consultation may be provided by the staff, formulating preapplication drafts and in filling out grant forms. Once a formal grant application has been received, a project officer is assigned and the application is deferred to appropriate members of the Advisory Group members. Recommendations of the full group to approve or disapprove are then submitted to the Director of OCD for final decisions. Those recommendations are not binding.

TARGET POPULATION:

According to division reports, at least 65% of the subjects

and/or participants in research and demonstration projects funded by the agency are members of minority groups.

GRANTS AND CONTRACTING:

According to a recent analysis, minority organizations and institutions received approximately 18% of the total grants awarded by the division for FY 1972, the highest percentage of all agencies surveyed. However, some indices of inequity still remain. The average grants awarded to minorities contrasted unfavorably with those going to white recipients ($60,654 vs. $80,530). Only 3% of all grants were received by minority colleges and universities while 40% of all grants went to majority institutions in that category. In addition, the participation of minorities does not approach the involvement of minorities as research subjects in OCD-sponsored activities.

As significant, the predominant emphasis upon deficit models discovered in over 40% of the projects funded in OCD in FY 1971 remained in FY 1972, both in projects continued and those receiving new start funding. Of particular concern to interviewees in OCD and elsewhere was the continuation of support for a study entitled "Race, Environment and Performance: A Re-Analysis." This project involving a research subject of particular sensitivity and concern to minority groups is being conducted by three white researchers without provisions for an independent critique of study findings by a minority agency or institution.

Research priorities for FY 1973 are in the process of being revised, and hence are not finalized at this writing. Agency budget justifications projected that a number of areas would be given priority, including family day care, school age day care, adolescent parenting, youth studies, adoption and foster care, effects of television, social class and ethnic differences and single-parent families.

Concerning evaluation, it should be noted that there have been few minority recipients of Head Start evaluation grants and contracts. For a more extended discussion of OCD evaluation activities, see the OCD Case Study.

RESEARCH AND DEMONSTRATION

AGENCY: Growth and Development Branch, National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, National Institute of Health, HEW

PROGRAM NAME: Growth and Development, Extramural Research

LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY: Title III, Part A, Sec. 301, Public Health Service Act as amended, PL 78-4101.

PURPOSE:

As stated in Sec. 301:

> The Surgeon General shall conduct in the Service, and encourage, cooperate with, and render assistance to, other appropriate public authorities, scientific institutions, and scientists in the conduct of, and promote the coordination of, research, investigations, experiments, demonstrations, and studies related to the causes, diagnosis, treatment, control and prevention of physical and mental diseases and impairments of man....

As per available reports, the mission of the Institute is to conduct and support "an integrated program of research into the sequential changes characteristic of individual development from the moment of fertilization through old age and death."[1]

One of its preeminent goals is to define the prerequisites for the optimal development of children, i.e.,

> The growth and development program provides support for research concerning nutrition in child development; it is also encouraging deeper understanding of the social and psychological needs of the developing child and the means of providing for optimal development despite social deprivation.[2]

PROGRAM ACTIVITIES:

Intramural research involving seven intramural laboratories in Gerontology Research Center (Baltimore); Developmental Biology Branch, Social and Behavioral Sciences Branch (including Early Development and Parent-Child Interaction Sections); Laboratory

of Biomedical Services; Behavioral Biology Branch and Children's Diagnostic and Study Branch.

Support of the Center for Population Research established in 1968, designated by the President as the focal agency for population research and training throughout the federal government.

Sponsorship of Extramural Research responsible for activities related to the awarding of grants and contracts for major program areas: mental retardation; perinatal biology and infant mortality; adult development and ageing; and growth and development.

PLANNING:

No specific information available.

BUDGET:

Funds available for NICHD Activities have increased substantially from $27,017,000 in 1964 to an estimated $127,244,000 in FY 1973. An estimated $9.7 million was provided for early childhood research in FY 1971 in support of a total of 192 projects.

ORGANIZATION AND STAFFING:

Extramural child development research activities are administered primarily by the Growth and Development Branch, under the supervision of the Office of the Associate Director for Extramural Programs who in turn reports to the Director of NICHD. There are no minority professionals staffing the Growth and Development Branch and none are represented in the decision-making hierarchy involved in child development programming. In the intramural research program there are three Black professionals out of a total of 130.

Key decision-making roles are also played by NICHD review committees, of which there are forty in number, and by the National Advisory Child Health and Human Development Council which is responsible for the second level review of the proposals recommended by the former. As of May 1972, one of fifteen members of the Growth and Development Research and Training Committee was of a minority group. Two Blacks and one Asian-American sit as members of the seventeen-man National Advisory Council. None of the minority members of either advisory group are employed by minority organizations or institutions.

DELIVERY SYSTEM:

Applications for research grants are made directly to NICHD in Bethesda, Maryland. Awards are made to individuals and institutions not only in the United States but in foreign countries

as well.

TARGET POPULATION:

Although specific information is not available, according to NICHD reports, "the Institute has been supporting a number of diverse studies that are particularly relevant to the physical, psychological, and social problems of the disadvantaged." Interviewees reported that minorities were often included in sizable numbers as subjects in both intramural and extramural research projects.

GRANTS AND CONTRACTING:

Although not all grants and contracts awarded by the Growth and Development Branch concerned early child development, it is significant to note that out of 334 grants active as of Nov. 30, 1971, totalling $18,158,087, not one was given to an identifiable minority institution or organization. Johns Hopkins University alone received $798,845. In the same time period four foreign grants for a total of $594,055 were awarded to scholars in Chile, Guatemala, Mexico and the United Kingdom.

Ninety-eight percent of the research supported by the Institute is basic research and in FY 1971 was characterized by an emphasis upon cognitive development, physical development and findings applicable to all children. Projections are to give new emphasis in FY 1973 and beyond to the effects of environmental stimuli or cognitive development, multidisciplinary approaches to the study of the interrelationships of nutrition and psychological, cultural and social factors, longitudinal studies and the development of new personality measurement approaches.[3]

F O O T N O T E S

[1] "Child Health and Human Development: Research Progress," A Report of the NICHD, DHEW Publication No. (NIH) 72-39, p. 4.

[2] Ibid., p. 5.

[3] "Toward Interagency Cooperation," op. cit., p. 54.

RESEARCH AND DEMONSTRATION

AGENCY: Division of Extramural Research Programs, Division of Special Mental Health Programs, NIMH

PROGRAM NAME: Research Projects

LECISLATIVE AUTHORITY: Public Health Service Act (PL 78-410) as amended to create the "National Mental Health Act" (PL 79-487), in 1946 and subsequently.

PURPOSE:

As reflected in PL 79-487, the purpose of the agency in the area of research is as follows:

> The purpose of this Act is the improvement of the mental health of the people of the United States through the conducting of research, investigations, experiments, and demonstrations relating to the cause, diagnosis, and treatment of psychiatric disorders; assisting and fostering such research activities by public and private agencies, and promoting the coordination of all such research and activities and the useful application of their results....

Agency policy regarding the interpretation of the enabling legislation is further clarified in Title 42, Chapter I, Part 52 of the Federal Register.

In addition, various agency reports have further elaborated the agency's goals and objectives for research. The DHEW Organizational Manual contains this precise statement of NIMH's mission:

> The National Institute of Mental Health plans, directs, and coordinates the national program effort designed to improve the mental health of the people of the United States through the development of knowledge, manpower and services to promote and sustain mental health, prevent mental illness and treat and rehabilitate mentally ill persons....

In addition, the Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Child Mental Health (1971) communicates both decisions on the part of NIMH to make child mental health the first priority of the agency

and these underlying assumptions for agency programming:

> "The first assumption is that the child should be viewed within a developmental framework.[2]
>
> "The second major assumption underlying this report is that the child must be viewed within the context of his environment as a member of a community, a neighborhood, a family."[3]

Finally, the agency is the only one among those surveyed to articulate a concern for the status and effects of programming upon minority group children as reflected in the published report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Child Mental Health.[4]

PROGRAM ACTIVITIES:

Coordinates a program of intramural and extramural research, training, early child care demonstrations, pilot projects and other programs across the country which focus on mental health and mental illness in the formative years, or the early treatment of illness and its prevention.

Provides support for the study of social problems such as family disruption and breakdown and the effects of poverty and deprivation upon the young.

Other NIMH activities which are directly relevant to support of child development programming in research include research concerning mental illness, special social problems (alcoholism, drug abuse), the elderly.

PLANNING:

Primary responsibility for planning in NIMH apparently lies with the Assistant Director for Planning and Evaluation and the Office of Program Planning and Evaluation. There is no minority representation in this area.

BUDGET:

According to agency reports, one-fourth of the entire NIMH research budget is devoted to the mental health of the young (0-25). As of April 1972 for all divisions that amounted to support of active grants amounting to nearly $23 million. Although specific figures for FY 1972 are not available, in FY 1971, of total funds allocated to child mental health, $4 million was apparently directed to early childhood research (0-6) in support of seventy-nine new and continued projects, out of a total of approximately $19.5 million allocated for research focusing on children and youth (0-25).

ORGANIZATION AND STAFFING:

Two divisions have primary responsibility for NIMH activities affecting young children - the Division of Extramural Research Programs and the Division of Special Mental Health Programs. The balance of power with the agency clearly lies with the former which has the largest budget for child-related research (over $7 million in FY 1971 regarding children 0-11) and the primary decision-making responsibility. The latter division is headed by a minority Acting Director who together with the (minority) Chief for Studies of Child and Family Mental Health bears responsibility for coordinating agency child-related activities. Neither can fund research directly; indeed the Center for Studies of Child and Family Mental Health is the only major center without a budget. Also within the Division of Special Mental Health Programs is the Center for Minority Group Mental Health Programs which can also fund early childhood research out of a total operating and program budget (for research, training and service programs) of approximately $4.5 million in FY 1973. There is one minority section chief in the Division of Extramural Research Division who reports to the Chief of the Behavioral Sciences Research Branch. Activities in the other NIMH divisions headed by a minority, as the Division of Mental Health Service Programs, have been decentralized with the resulting decline in his authority.

There are therefore no minorities in NIMH in significant decision-making positions concerning child development or related programs. Moreover the influence of minorities within the NIMH organizational structure is further affected by the utilization of the assignment system, the "colleague expert review system" and the National Advisory Mental Health Council, which must review and approve all proposals funded. All proposals considered by the Public Health Service (of which both NIH and NIMH are a part) are assigned by an assignment officer in NIH who directs them to study sections (fifty in number, headed by executive officers of which there are no minorities). NIMH then receives designated grants which are subsequently distributed by a NIMH assignment officer to approximately thirty-five review committees (one of which is staffed by a minority professional). There is also only one review committee of which minorities constitute a majority, that attached to the Minority Issues Center. Recommended proposals are then forwarded to the National Advisory Council, of which two of twelve members are minorities. It is clear that the minority perspective is barely represented in a process in which so few minority representatives have significant input.

DELIVERY SYSTEM:

Grants are awarded to investigators affiliated with universities, colleges, hospitals, academic or research institutes, and other non-profit organizations in the U. S. and foreign countries under certain circumstances and awards are determined for the most part at the national offices of the Institute.

TARGET POPULATION:

Although specific figures are not available, it was estimated by interviewees that the overwhelming majority (at least two-thirds) of subjects of applied research studies concerning young children are members of minority groups.

GRANTS AND CONTRACTING:

Nearly all recipients of awards presently made by the Minority Issues Center are minority investigators and/or sponsors. As noted, the Center has available a budget of $4.5 to 5 million for FY 1973 to support activities in all categories including operations, research, training and other projects for all age levels. This level of resources is to be contrasted with a total NIMH budget in FY 1971 for research regarding children and youth alone (0-25) of over $19 million or $46.5 million in active research, fellowship and training grants for the same age group in the same period.

In addition, a check of NIMH grants focusing on children and youth (0-25) revealed that three such grants had been made to minority organi ations or institutions, including the University of Puerto Rico, out of a grand total of 361 for nearly $23 million.

In short, most grant activity affecting minority groups appears to be centralized in the minority Issues Center, the funding of which is insignificant when standards for equity for minority groups, to say nothing of compensatory action, are applied.

No information was obtained concerning NIMH contracting activities although it is known that contract funds are limited as contrasted with grants awarded by the agency, and that there is no minority representation on the NIMH contracts staff. Nor was there information available concerning the activities of the Intramural Research program in which a Child Research Branch exists.

A recent assessment of NIMH grants concerned with children and youth, active as of April 1972, concluded that 61% assumed as a basic research premise the existence of sickness, deficits and deviance in a predominantly minority subject population. Only 8% of these studies sought to assess environmental influences in this regard, thus leaving the analyst with the inescapable conclusion that such "deficits" and "deviance" were not generated by external forces. On the other hand, most basic research, not problem-oriented, utilized white middle-class children as subjects. According to FY 1973 projections, NIMH will give greater emphasis to research to aid the planning process, child advocacy and the study of total family, community and social influences.[6]

F O O T N O T E S

[1] "National Institute of Mental Health Support Programs," DHEW Publication No. (HSM) 72-9044, Revised 1972, p. 11.

[2] "Report to the Director," Ad Hoc Committee on Child Mental Health, National Institute of Mental Health, 1971, p. 2.

[3] Ibid.

[4] The Committee held with the Join Commission on Mental Health of Children that:

> The mental health problems of minority group children are so severe that they warrant immediate and drastic attention. Poverty and racism combine to threaten the nutritional, physical, and psychological health of large proportions of oppressed minority children. Indeed, poverty and racism have created a divisiveness that threatens our future and weakens our society and its citizens. Racism is believed by some to be our Nation's number one public health problem.

Ibid., p. 44.

[5] NICHD also receives grants assigned by this system.

[6] "Toward Interagency Coordination," op. cit., pp. 55-6.

ANCILLARY SERVICES

AGENCY: Child Nutrition Division, Food and Nutrition Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture; Nutrition and Technical Services Staff, Food and Nutrition Services, USDA

PROGRAM NAMES: Special Food Service for Children (SFSC) Non-Food Assistance Program Research, Education and Evaluation Studies

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION:

The SFSC offers reimbursements to non-profit, private schools, day care and child service institutions for meals served to young children which meet USDA criteria. In addition, up to three-fourths of the cost to buy or rent necessary food service equipment can be provided as well as USDA donated foods. This program is administered directly by state educational agencies in twenty-six states and territories and by regional Food and Nutrition Service Offices in remaining areas. As of June 1971, approximately 750,000 children were being served in 6,825 institutions at a cost of $3,571,027. In addition, the Nutrition and Technical Services staff funds food systems studies; evaluation of nutritional status, school feeding and educational materials; projects related to nutrition education and training activities and materials; and research in food technology. Three of eighty projects as of July 1972 concerned young children (0-5).

GENERAL COMMENTS:

The heavy reliance, indeed preference, of USDA for state administered child nutrition programs may have implications for minority participation which should be assessed (e.g., a comparison of minority institutional participation in states where state agencies control the program with states in which regional offices are involved).

There is no reliable data available concerning the racial breakdown or age of children served by CND programs.

There are four minority employees out of thirty-five (GS 11-15) within the agency. There are no minority professionals on the Nutrition and Technical Services staff.

ANCILLARY SERVICES

AGENCY: Office of New Careers, Office of the Secretary, DHEW

PROGRAM NAME: Public Service Careers

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION:

In accordance with program criteria set by the Department of Labor, eligible employees of agencies receiving Federal grants-in-aid are eligible to receive training. There are eighty-seven programs in thirty-seven states involving 1,936 employees who presently participate in the Public Careers Program sponsored by the Office of Child Development, DHEW. There is also substantial involvement in SRS and NIMH sponsored programs although it is not clear how many personnel in the latter instances are engaged in child development programming.

GENERAL COMMENTS:

Budget limitations severely restrict the ability of minorities in non-designated projects (as determined by OCD) to participate in this program at present.

ANCILLARY SERVICES

AGENCY: Small Business Administration

PROGRAM NAME: Business Loans, Economic Opportunity Loans, Lease Guarantees

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION:

Small businesses operating day care centers on a for-profit basis may secure direct loans or loan guarantees or lease guarantees from SBA as authorized by the Small Business Act of 1953, as amended, Title IV of the Economic Opportunity Act, as amended. Applications are processed by SBA Field Offices.

GENERAL COMMENTS:

Interviews with SBA officials revealed that there were no accurate statistics available concerning the number of minority day care proprietors who had participated in these programs, because SBA records are not categorized to reveal such information.

CONTEXTUAL SUPPORT

AGENCY: Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Administration, SRS

PROGRAM NAME: Preventive Services, Improved Techniques and Practices

DESCRIPTION:

Grants may be made through states and directly to public or private non-profit agencies and organizations for the provision of day care services within the framework of broader programs for teenage mothers, etc., and for the establishment of day care facilities as one component of a youth-operated service program. In the latter program (Improved Techniques), no matching funds are required.

GENERAL COMMENTS:

No specific information is available regarding the actual use of these programs for child-related services.

AGENCY: Maternal and Child Services (MCHS), Health Services and Mental Health Administration, DHEW

PROGRAM NAME: Maternity and Infant Care Projects, Project for Comprehensive Health Care of Preschool and School Age Children

DESCRIPTION:

Within the context of these projects and in collaboration with other service agencies, day care services can be offered for children of project patients, as indicated by MCHS reports. See discussion regarding MCHS research activities for further details.

CONTEXTUAL SUPPORT

AGENCY: Health Services and Mental Health Administration, DHEW/OEO

PROGRAM NAME: Migrant Health and Assistance

DESCRIPTION:

Grants may be made to public and private non-profit agencies, organizations and institutions for paying the cost of activities to improve health services and conditions for migratory farm families, including day care.

GENERAL COMMENTS:

Funding may well be a problem, however, in view of the fact that in the HSMHA program the average local share has been 40%. In addition, prior obligations to ongoing OEO projects may make new start funding unlikely.

AGENCY: Division of Mental Health Service Program, NIMH

PROGRAM NAME: Community Mental Health Center (CMHC)

DESCRIPTION:

Day care services can be provided by CMHC's as part of a comprehensive mental health program, to be utilized by children with special mental health needs or by children whose parents are receiving care. CMHC's can also provide child development services as part of preventive programs. In addition, there are special grants available for special children's mental health services for applicants where there is no CMHC servicing the community. Both states and regional offices are involved in decision-making and information dissemination concerning this program.

GENERAL COMMENTS:

Most NIMH materials indicate that programs are clearly deficit-oriented, stressing the "sociocultural deprivation" of the poor and the need for good day care center programs "offering affection and mental stimulation," reflecting in part the agency's focus upon the inability of individuals to adjust to society's demands. There was no specific information available concerning the extent to which CMHC's have provided day care services.

CONTEXTUAL SUPPORT

AGENCY: Office of Community Development, HUD

PROGRAM NAME: Neighborhood Facilities Grant Program

DESCRIPTION:

Under this program, grants are made to a public body, an agency or Indian Tribe for the development of centers to house a range of services including day care and other activities for low and moderate income persons. A profit or non-profit organization may contract with the eligible applicant to own or operate a project.

GENERAL COMMENTS:

It is not known to what extent funds have been used in the past or are available presently for day care/child development services. Significant for this investigation, however, is specific language in the Federal Register (Vol. 36, No. 246, Dec. 22, 1971, Part 551.16), which describes criteria for evaluating applications, which specifically refer to minority groups:

> In determining whether or not performance has been "relatively superior," the following items will be taken into consideration. Absolute numbers of persons actually trained or hired in relation to numbers of minority group persons in the labor market area; total dollar value of contracts let to minority entrepreneurs in relation to total dollar amount of contracts let by locality; within the administering agency, racial composition at all levels of employment and absolute number of training opportunities made available to minority group persons....

CONTEXTUAL SUPPORT

AGENCY: Office of Community Development, Model Cities, HUD Development

PROGRAM NAME: Model Cities Program

DESCRIPTION:

Day care projects may be part of a model cities program developed by a "city demonstration agency," (CDA) which may be a city, county, or any public agency established as designated by the local governing body to administer such programs. Model Cities funds, as in the case of the Appalachian Regional Commission, can be used as the matching share permitting states to qualify for 75% federal matching funds under Title IV - A & B. As of Dec. 30, 1970, CDA's had allocated approximately $14.6 million of supplemental funds in the area of child care. According to agency reports, as of September 1971, there were eighty-five operating day care projects in Model Cities programs.

GENERAL COMMENTS:

Pending legislation, which would alter the open-ended provisions of Title IV, A & B may have a significant effect upon the expansion of child care projects in Model Cities programs, the majority of which have included them in both short-term and long range comprehensive plans.

CONTEXTUAL SUPPORT

AGENCY: Housing Production and Mortgage Credit, Federal Housing Administration, HUD

PROGRAM NAME: Indoor Community Facilities

DESCRIPTION:

Community facilities which are considered to be necessary appurtenances of housing may be constructed or acquired by local housing authorities (LHA) and may contain a day care center where this is a priority need. These facilities may be administered by LHA's or may be leased at nominal cost to a public or private organization for operation of a day care program. As of 1966, there were 270 nursery or day care facilities in approximately 1,800 projects which had utilized this program for the development of community facilities.

GENERAL COMMENTS:

No more specific information could be obtained concerning the day care projects made possible under this program, or the extent to which lease arrangements prevail and with whom they are concluded.

CONTEXTUAL SUPPORT

AGENCY: Office of Employment Development Programs, Manpower Administration, Dept. of Labor

PROGRAM NAME: Manpower Training Programs (WIN, JOBS, CEP, Public Employment Programs, etc.)

DESCRIPTION:

Child care services which are provided for USDOL trainees are generally purchased from other sources. Funds are distributed to regions which may further allocate funds in accordance with state guidelines. Federal funds for WIN amounted to $26 million in FY 1971 and are estimated at more than three times that amount in FY 1973 ($82 million). Estimates for employment-related day care in FY 1973 are $[illegible] million, a 26% increase over 1972, although not all of these funds were provided by one source.

GENERAL COMMENTS:

All available documentation shows that the inavailability of day care services is largely responsible for the lack of success (as indicated by long-term placement in stable employment) of various DOL programs. Budget estimates available reflect that much care supported by federal funds in this category is not comprehensive and developmental, but custodial.

CONTEXTUAL SUPPORT

AGENCY: Appalachian Regional Commission

PROGRAM NAME: Child Development Program, ARC

DESCRIPTION:

The ARC is an independent federal-state agency involving thirteen states, which receives funds directly from Congress. Child development services are provided in accordance with state plans which are developed around ARC guidelines. ARC's resources can be considered as matching funds for the purpose of qualifying for Title A & B (of the Social Security Act) programs. For FY 1973, ARC has $18 million allocated for child development programs.

GENERAL COMMENTS:

No specific information was obtained concerning minority representation on state ARC staffs, a matter of crucial concern in view of the strategic role played by states in allocating ARC resources. Minority groups have participated in the program, however, in large part through the involvement of the Office of the Assistant Director for OCD in Region IV (Atlanta).

AGENCY: Office of Housing Management, HUD

PROGRAM NAME: Tenant Services Grant Program

DESCRIPTION:

Section 2161 of the Housing Act of 1937 as amended, authorizes financial assistance for tenant services, including child care, for families living in low-rent housing projects, to be provided by local housing authorities.

GENERAL COMMENTS:

The bankrupt status of most local housing authorities (LHA) suggests that these provisions are rarely enforced because of lack of funds, although no specific information to that effect was available.

CONTEXTUAL SUPPORT

AGENCY: Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education Office of Education, DHEW

LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY: Title I and Title III, Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965

DESCRIPTION:

A local educational agency (LEA) may request funds for preschool and day care projects for children who are described as "educationally deprived" in accordance with provisions of the Act. Most funds for these programs are distributed directly to the states and only LEA's are eligible to apply for them.

GENERAL COMMENTS:

There is no information available concerning the extent to which child development activities have been supported with funds under this program. The definition of "educational deprivation"* used in the program suggests, however, the imposition of ethnocentristic values and norms which place an undue emphasis upon the shortcomings of individuals rather than analysis of social institutions and structures which influence them.

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*That definition, as contained in the Federal Register reads as follows: "...children who have need for special educational assistance in order that the level of educational attainment may be raised to that appropriate for children of their age. The term includes children...whose needs for such special educational assistance result from poverty, delinquency, or cultural or linguistic isolation from the community at large."

TANGENTIAL INVOLVEMENT

AGENCY: CSA, SRS, DHEW

PROGRAM NAME: Child Welfare Training Program

DESCRIPTION:

Grants may be made for periods of up to five years to public or other non-profit institutions of higher learning for special projects to train personnel for work in the field of child welfare, including day care.

AGENCY: Division of Manpower & Training Programs, NIMH

PROGRAM NAME: Experimental and Special Training Programs

DESCRIPTION:

Personnel in day care centers may be involved in mental health training programs if they use mental health skills as an integral part of their work. Grants are awarded to training centers and educational organizations after a review by Mental Health Training Committees and recommendation by the National Advisory Mental Health Council.

AGENCY: Office of Child Development

PROGRAM NAME: Interagency Panel on Early Childhood Research and Development

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION:

The panel is a coordinating, information-sharing body, the function of which is to pool the information of eleven agencies engaged in child development research and development (0-6), to assess present activities, to identify overlapping and gaps in federal research in this area and to provide projections regarding activity. It has neither funds nor authority and is staffed by an information secretariat which is housed in the Office of Child Development.

TANGENTIAL INVOLVEMENT

AGENCY: Department of Labor

PROGRAM NAME: A. Manpower Administration

DESCRIPTION:

Training in day care occupations may be supported by various DOL programs, including those administered by State Employment Service offices, the Neighborhood Youth Corps., JOBS and JOBS Optional Programs.

GENERAL COMMENTS:

There is no specific information available at this time concerning the actual utilization of these programs for specific child-related purposes.

B. Employment Standards Administration, Women's Bureau, Department of Labor

DESCRIPTION:

In line with its concern for day care for children of working mothers, the Women's Bureau provides information to a wide range of users. Its most recent publication is "Federal Funds for Day Care Projects" (Revised 1972), used as an information source for this survey and review.

TANGENTIAL INVOLVEMENT

AGENCY: Office of Education

PROGRAM NAME: Vocational Education

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION:

1. Grants may be made to state boards for vocational education to develop and improve programs of vocational education including preparatory and supplementary training of family day care operators, aides and other day care staff.

2. Grants and contacts can be made by OE for research, training and other projects regarding new careers in child care and related fields, as per Title 45, Chapter I, Part 103.3(f) of the Federal Register.

PROGRAM NAME: Educational Personnel Development Grants

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION:

Proposals are submitted by colleges, universities, state or local educational agencies and are funded for three to five years for the purpose of supporting training programs to improve the qualifications of professionals and non-professionals serving or preparing to serve in educational programs, including preschool. In FY 1971, $5.6 million was allocated in the area of early childhood development of which 93% went for training and the balance for applied research.

GENERAL COMMENTS:

Of particular interest to this study would be to ascertain the results of the participation of consumers in EPD decision-making, one of two agencies in which such involvement has been structured. Further, language in PL 80-575 requiring "an equitable geographical distribution of training opportunities throughout the nation" (Title V, Part D, Sec. 333) represents an interesting precedent for equity considerations which could be applied equally to minority groups.

TANGENTIAL INVOLVEMENT

PROGRAM NAME: Work-Study

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION:

Students supported by work-study grants made to eligible institutions have worked as aides in day care centers as the result of agreements between the institution and other organizations.

PROGRAM NAME: Teacher Corps

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION:

Local school districts and universities may apply for funds to enroll individuals in the Teacher Corps, who may be assigned to spend time in day care centers as community projects if so determined by that locality.

PROGRAM NAME: Bureau of Libraries

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION:

Although most funds available under this program are distributed in accordance with state plans in formula grants, institutions concerning young children and projects targeted for the "disadvantaged" have been funded at the national level.

PROGRAM NAME: Office of Program Planning and Evaluation

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION:

In FY 1972 an estimated 1 1/2 million dollars will be allocated for research and evaluation projects related to early childhood education on a grants and contracting basis.

PROGRAM NAME: Communication

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION:

The National Center for Educational Communications, the Office of Public Affairs, and the Division of Bureau Services all provide informational material (publications, films, etc.) related to early childhood education.

TANGENTIAL INVOLVEMENT

PROGRAM NAME: National Center for Educational Statistics

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION:

NCES has supported child development projects such as in "Early Age Study of Longitudinal Study of Educational Effects in FY 1972."

PROGRAM NAME: Division of Training, Bureau of Education for the Handicapped

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION:

This division administers two programs for the training of personnel to work with the handicapped including those of preschool age. Of 283 colleges given regular awards in FY 1972, eighteen went to historically Black colleges. Of eighty-five special project awards, (dealing with innovative teacher training methods and recruitment), five were awarded to minority institutions.

TANGENTIAL INVOLVEMENT

AGENCY: Continuing Education Branch, Division of Manpower and Training Programs, NIMH

PROGRAM NAME: Continuing Education in Mental Health

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION:

Grants may be made to any public or private non-profit institution, professional organization or state or community agency, (for in-service training of child care workers, teachers, lawyers, aides, welfare workers, nurses, therapists, etc.). Program may emphasize training in one specific discipline or may be multi-disciplinary. Funds may be requested to defray the expenses incurred in developing or conducting continual education programs, but are not generally available for support of individual trainees.

GENERAL COMMENTS:

There was no information available at the time of this study concerning recipients of grants under this program to date, so that there is no verification of the extent to which child development/day care personnel or minorities have been able to utilize this program.

As in all other NIMH programs, the National Advisory Council must approve proposals before they can be funded by the Surgeon General.

TANGENTIAL INVOLVEMENT

Other Government Resources

PROGRAM NAME: National Science Foundation (NSF)

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION:

Through the Psychobiology Program, the NSF supports research in human and animal behavior including experimental psychology, behavioral genetics and projects in measurement and quantitative methods as these apply to the study of behavior. Both the Social Sciences and Psychobiology Divisions support studies in developmental psychology and personality. Grants and contracts are awarded to universities, non-profit and other research organizations. NSF is an independent governmental agency.

PROGRAM NAME: National Academy of Sciences, National Research Council

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION:

This organization, a quasi-official agency authorized by Executive Order 10668, has as its purpose the stimulation and support of the work of individual scientists and the coordination of investigations dealing with broad problems both nationally and internationally. In FY 1971 the Council was awarded a grant by OCD to establish an advisory council for the purpose of making recommendations concerning national child development policy. The Council's final report is due momentarily.

PROGRAM NAME: Smithsonian Science Information Exchange, Smithsonian Institution

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION:

The Exchange receives, organizes and disseminates information about research in progress, including child development, for the purpose of assisting the planning and management of research activity, promoting information exchange and avoiding duplication. Information concerning research in early childhood conducted by most government agencies can be obtained from this organization for a fee.

APPENDIX B

Outline
Federal Child Development
Programming Analysis

OUTLINE

Federal Child Development Programming Analysis

1. Agency (office)

2. Program name and description

3. Program goals and objectives
   a. How established?
   b. How stated by agency? (Obtain documentation if possible)
   c. Has there been a change in them over time? (Describe; obtain documentation)
   d. Projections for future (if different)

4. Planning and prioritization
   a. Describe process (examples)
   b. Mechanisms (who is involved)
      1. Staff (specify)
      2. Advisory committee (specify)
      3. Other (e.g., task forces, outside contractors)

5. Major program activities (describe and estimate level of effort)

6. Organization and staffing
   a. Structure and functions of organizational units (obtain organizational chart)
   b. Ethnic/racial composition of staff by grade levels (GS-1 through 18)
   c. Decision-makers (persons who have authority concerning the allocation of resources and the deployment of staff)
      1. Identify by name and title
      2. Describe functions and area of responsibility
      3. Specify minorities by race and ethnic background
   d. Relationship of agency and/or office to:
      1. Broader governmental context (e.g., within HEW, DOL) (Obtain overall organizational charge if possible)

7. Program funding
   a. Describe FY 1972 budget allocations (categorize per organizational unit and activity)
   b. Describe FY 1973 budget (categorize)
   c. Describe budget changes since initiation of program (obtain budget from first year of program's existence, if possible)
   d. Who makes budgetary decisions? (Describe personnel and process)
   e. Obtain longer-range budget projections if available

8. Delivery System
   a. Describe role of agency and relationship to:
      1. Regional offices

2. State agencies
3. Local municipalities
4. Projects (operating programs at the community level)

b. How are funds distributed to recipients?
1. How and with whom are applications made for funds?
2. Trace process from federal level down to community

c. Locus of actual decision-making authority, i.e., where are the important program and budgetary decisions made?

d. Minority representation and roles at regional, state, local and project levels of delivery system (specify with names, numbers and percentages if possible)

9. Target Population
a. Description (number, ethnic/racial composition, socio-economic status, location, etc.)
b. Mechanisms for consumer input
1. Description of role and function
2. Extent of minority participation (specify)

10. Grant and contracting activities (including research, demonstration, training and evaluation)
a. How are grants and contracts administered?
1. Describe process
2. Describe role of minority staff in process

b. For FY 1972
1. Describe expenditures per category
2. Obtain list of recipients, including name of recipients, description of grants/contracts and amount of grants/contracts
3. Specify minority participation - names of recipients, description of grant/contract, amount of grant/contract

c. FY 1973
1. Obtain description of budget priorities (if available)
2. Total funds budgeted for grants and contracts, per category
3. Determine if affirmative action plans reinvolvement of minorities exist and obtain

d. Regarding research
1. Findings (obtain summaries of projects funded in the past and study conclusions)
2. Describe utilization of research findings (if any)

e. Regarding evaluation
1. Who has conducted evaluations for agency?
a) Describe and specify minority participation (name of evaluator, description of grant/contract)
2. What aspects of the program have been evaluated?
3. Findings to date
4. Utilization of fundings (examples)

11. Program Impact
    a. In-house criteria for assessing program impact and effectiveness (e.g., does an evaluation plan exist?)
    b. Intended impact and actual impact (obtain any available documentation)
    c. Impact of program on minorities (describe benefits, detriments as viewed by program personnel)

APPENDIX C

Final Report
Minority Employee Survey
Office of Child Development

Introduction

A. Background

In 1971, a request was made by the Director of the Office of Child Development (OCD), that an assessment be undertaken by the Associate Chief of the Children's Bureau of the manner in which racism impacts on the research, policy, and program efforts of a government agency. As an initial phase of that inquiry, a survey of a representative sample of minority* employees in OCD (national office) was commissioned in February 1972, for the purpose of ascertaining minority in-house views and opinions regarding the purposes, activities, impact and responsiveness of the Office. A compilation of survey results follows and is submitted at this juncture as an information and planning tool for immediate and long-range organizational purposes.

B. Methodology

Interviews were conducted with fifty-seven employees of OCD or over one-half of the total number of minority personnel in the national office. Of the fifty-seven, nineteen were professional employees (GS-12 and above) out of a pool of twenty-one, and thirty-eight were selected according to random sampling techniques to represent the eighty-four OCD employees (GS-2 to 11) who were members of minority groups. All minorities represented in OCD were included in the survey population.

The attitudinal questionnaire developed to solicit staff views was deliberately designed as an open-ended instrument to encourage frank and open expression of opinions. In addition, in view of the differences in sophistication and knowledge of OCD operations among respondents, no effort was made to assure absolute uniformity in approach to interview subjects. However, in spite of the fact that the instrument did not produce data which could be readily quantified, the opinions and perceptions which are summarized below were expressed by a substantial number, if not the majority of persons interviewed, and hence can be said to be representative of the thinking of minority employees in OCD.

C. Scope of Report

The findings below represent an organized presentation of perceptions alone. No attempt has been made at this juncture to validate or document specific assertions or concerns. It should be noted moreover that an effort is now underway to

*Minorities included for purposes of this study were Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and American Indians.

ascertain the views and opinions of key decision-makers in OCD, which will likewise be summarized and presented as interim report of perceptions. It is expected that there will be opportunities for substantiation of staff assessments in both instances in the course of developing the comprehensive statement referred to above.

But even in the absence of documentation, the perceptions have been accredited a certain validity. If OCD is viewed as a racist institution by a majority of minority employees interviewed, and that perception has a clear impact upon staff morale, there is value in attempting to understand the reasons for these views. If a substantial number of minority staff members in response to a general question, cite the same example of what is perceived to be inequity, that situation warrants further scrutiny. Accordingly, following an overall summary of findings, what is provided below are clearly defined <u>problem areas</u>, which were identified by at least 25% of all respondents. This section of the report includes a brief discussion of the range of concerns expressed and selected specific examples of the problem's impact from the perspective of the minority staff.

I. Summary of Findings

A. OCD and Racism

In many important respects, the Office of Child Development was seen by its minority personnel as an organization in "quiet crisis." Perceptions of adverse racial attitudes and behavior were clearly a contributing factor to the predominant impression of organizational malaise. Of nineteen professionals interviewed, only one indicated that there were no disadvantages attached to minority group status within the agency. Among support staff interviewed, one-half felt that racism impacted heavily upon their position and access to opportunities within OCD.

Most respondents interpreted the concept of racism in institutional rather than personal terms, i.e., they saw the phenomena as expressed through institutional functions and roles rather than through the actions of individuals alone. In this regard, OCD was seen as essentially no different from other federal agencies, or indeed, American institutions in general. That is not to say that certain non-minority personnel in OCD were not perceived as being overtly bigoted. But most examples of racism cited were attributed to institutional practices which worked to the disadvantage of minorities or to unconscious presumptions of racial superiority and inferiority of which both the individual and the institution may not have been aware. Some of the indicators of the phenomenon as perceived by minority staff are discussed in more detail below.

But individuals were seen as being instrumental to racism's perpetuation and eradication. Some interviewees saw a personal commitment to change on the part of OCD's directorate as the key to the problem's solution. Others more pessimistically indicated that without change in OCD's present leadership hierarchy, there was little hope for improvement. A substantial number of all respondents (and 80% of all professionals interviewed expressed the conviction in fact that only with the presence of additional minority policy-makers in OCD would there be any assurance that decisions would be made and implemented in the best interests of minority groups.

B. Minority Perceptions of OCD Overall Operations

Not all comments by respondents were directed at racial issues. OCD minority personnel expressed concerns regarding the agency's overall goals, policies, programs and administrative practices which may have been affected by perceptions of racism, but which also may be shared by non-minority staff members. Indeed, some of these concerns are identified below as key problem areas because of the frequency with which they were cited by respondents. To summarize:

Goals and Objectives: To the extent OCD's overall goals and objectives were known, OCD minority personnel saw a shift away from Head Start (H/S) principles (e.g., "parent participation," "community action," "priority to low income groups") with which they were in substantial agreement, in favor of redefined or substitute objectives (e.g., "parent development," "decentralization") which they saw as potentially dysfunctional for minority groups.

Policy: Respondents felt that decision-making prerogatives were unnecessarily restricted to a select circle of persons within the agency, that minority viewpoints were effectively excluded from the decision-making process and that there was inadequate communication of policies throughout the agency once they had been determined.

Program: Interviewees expressed concern for program quality but were not convinced that successes could always be assured immediately or by objective criteria. Respondents also saw little opportunity for meaningful input by staff in program planning, analysis and evaluation activities because of the "crisis orientation" of the agency. Over-specialization and over-emphasis on research and innovation ("for their own sakes") were also seen as problems in this area.

Administration: Respondents perceived various ways in which organizational resources (both human and financial) were not maximized by OCD's leadership. Among these the absence of upgrading opportunities, the lack of intra-agency communication and coordination, unsatisfactory supervisory attitudes and the ineffectiveness and lack of relevance of OCD generated materials were examples provided.

C. Key Problem Areas in OCD

The following problem areas treated in detail in the following section were cited most frequently by survey respondents:

a) Upgrading opportunities
b) Minority representation in OCD staffing
c) Research
d) OCD goals and policies
e) Racism in OCD (Institutional and Individual)
f) Communications and coordination
g) Supervisory attitudes and office protocol

II. Key Problem Areas

A. Lack of Upgrading Opportunities

Introduction

The one concern most often expressed by minority employees GS-2 through 11 (or 75% of this group surveyed) and noted by several of the other respondents as well was the absence of genuine upgrading opportunities for minority support staff. Most respondents saw themselves locked into dead-end jobs from which there was no escape. Many expressed a commitment to OCD's goals, felt they were knowledgeable and related a keen interest in moving ahead, but saw little chance to do so. That this sens of hopelessness has resulted in low morale and a certain amount of animosity and suspicion regarding OCD professionals is apparent. Moreover, the contradiction of the existence of career development policies for programs in the field and their apparent lack of applicability to the national office was not lost on a substantial number of minority personnel.

Concerns

1. No opportunities for transition to professional status

OCD was seen as having expended little or no effort to develop creative solutions in this area. According to respondents, existing job categories at upper levels have not been redefined to permit the hiring of professional assistants. No on-the-job training programs have been instituted. OCD was perceived as having made no attempt to institute pilot programs or to recommend to the proper authorities testing or classification procedures which could be relevant to the experiences of minority personnel.

2. Upgrading of present jobs

Several respondents perceived themselves and other colleagues as working at jobs which merited a higher classification. They also felt that the freeze had differentially impacted upon support and professional personnel, to the former's disadvantage.

3. By-passing for promotions

Interviewees commented that vacancies for which they were eligible had been filled the same day they were posted, or that they became aware of available positions only when introduced to the persons who had been hired to take them.

4. Down-grading of present jobs

A matter of great concern among OCD secretaries was the recent institution of a clerical-secretarial pool in one of the bureaus.

Respondents saw this innovation as eventuating in an increased work load for them, but more important, as downgrading their hard-won secretarial status. There was also concern about the discrepancy between job information shared at the time of the job interview and the less favorable realities of the work situation in which staff ultimately found themselves.

5. Temporary status

Although aware of budget limitations, several respondents felt that the temporary classification was used arbitrarily and had served to limit their opportunities for security and advancement.

6. Limitations of Upward Mobility and Project Stride

There was widespread approval of these programs but they were seen as being too limited (only six enrollees in the latter, and too unrelated to on-the-job activities. There was also a prevailing belief among enrollees that upon completion of their studies, they would probably have to go outside OCD to realize any benefits from their experiences.

7. Racial Factors

Minority employees felt strongly that whites have been brought in from outside the agency for positions they could fill. They also reported that there was a differential mobility pattern for whites who were recruited at lower grades, in that they were promoted more rapidly than minority personnel.

Examples

A secretary, although presently qualified for a GS-9 rating, was demoted from a GS-8 to a GS-6 four years ago, and has remained at the latter grade level ever since.

A GS-7a secretary, who has been at that level for nine years, has been the sole support staff person available for four professionals and two part-time consultants. Plans are to add to her unit four more professionals and only one additional typist.

An employee who has supervised three employees, handled publication control, allotments, Congressional mail and phone calls for six years serves in this capacity as a GS-6, and that rating was secured only in 1971.

Several participants in the special educational programs now underway have yet to be assigned responsibilities which differ from those they had before enrolling.

B. Greater Minority Representation on OCD Staff

Introduction

It was commonly admitted by interviewees that in comparison to other federal agencies, the percentages of minorities involved in OCD as staff were considerably better than average. There were, however, two important qualifications attached to that observation. First, although exact statistics were apparently not available, for all intents and purposes OCD was seen as a "minority program" (i.e., the majority of those served are minorities) and hence, ti was felt that staffing should substantially reflect the client population. Using that yardstick, therefore, respondents judged the representation of minorities at middle and upper levels as inadequate, and from the perspective of Spanish-speaking and Indian respondents, practically non-existent.

A second proviso advanced by respondents concerned the quality of participation of minority staff now on board. It was widely believed that with the potential exception of one individual, minority professionals did not exercise "power commensurate with their peers."

Concerns

1. Recruitment

Recruitment of minority staff was seen as being hampered by OCD's failure to take the initiative in developing relationships in the absence of confrontation with minority organizations and groups. In addition, there was not enough utilization, according to respondents, of existing organizational resources (e.g., the outreach capability of 1200 grantees) to tap potential candidates for positions.

2. Qualifications

Respondents expressed bitterness about the emphasis placed on the need for "qualified" minorities to fill positions held or recently vacated by nonminorities with average talents and credentials. The search for the "superstar" representative of minority groups was seen as clear manifestation of racism.

3. Screening

Minority involvement in OCD, as in every federal agency, was seen as being limited by such formal mechanisms as civil service requirements. But other subjective criteria were perceived to be at work in OCD. For example, OCD administrators were seen as having little tolerance for diversity among minority personnel (e.g., preferring soft-spoken types to aggressive personalities) so that persons who did not fit a

certain mold were automatically eliminated from consideration.

4. The Exercise of Authority

Minorities at higher levels were seen by respondents as being hampered in exercising their responsibilities. They did not have significant inputs on policy matters (or were consistently outvoted); they had limited access to information (or were by-passed in the information flow system); and they were not in the position to see their own philosophy reflected in OCD programming.

Examples

Over one-third of the professionals interviewed had submitted names to OCD administrators who stated tney were looking for minorities. In most instances, those recommended were never contacted.

Several respondents noted that certain administrative positions in OCD were once rated as super-grades, although they are now held by minorities with GS-15 rating. This was seen as disturbing in view of the recent hiring of a non-minority GS-16 in a lot allegedly created for him, while a minority professional has functioned out of grade for over a year.

Respondents perceived as examples of insufficient representation the fact that only one of six super-grades in the agency and 24% of positions (GS-12 to 15) were held by minorities, in view of estimates that from 55-60% of the persons involved in OCD sponsored programs are from minority groups.

C. Research

Introduction

The program area mentioned most frequently as a problem by professional and support staff alike was research. Four basic foci of concern were identified: first, who in OCD made decisions about research projects; second, who was funded to conduct research activities; third, what were the premises which underlay OCD-sponsored research; and fourth, for what purposes were research findings being utilized.

Several reasons emerged for this concentration of concern. There appeared to be widespread awareness of the relationship between research and policy, i.e., research findings often became the rationale and/or justification for governmental policies. Minority professionals in particular were also cognizant of the fact that under present budget constraints only research and training funds could be utilized somewhat flexibly and that support of innovative and from a minority

perspective relevant projects would have to come from this source. Third, minority staff demonstrated an increasing awareness of the questions being raised in their communities across the nation concerning the potential misuse of research findings.

Concerns

1. In-House Minority Representation on Research Staff and Review Panels

One-third of minority personnel interviewed commented on the absence of minority professional staff in the research and evaluation division and the insufficient representation of minorities on research review panels.

2. Research Grantees and Contractees

A substantial number of respondents expressed concern that so few black and other minority colleges, universities, and other institutions and agencies were recipients of OCD funds for research purposes. Although some agreed that training for young minority researchers may be in order, the majority maintained that compensatory outreach activities could result in greater participation from minority organizations and individuals that already had expertise in this area.

3. Research Assumptions

Several professional staff members perceived OCD-sponsored research as biased in favor of the "deficit syndrome" premise, which assumes that white middle class socio-economic and cultural standards are valid criteria for measuring the performance of all children. Not only did they reject such assumptions as ethnocentric and prejudiced to minority children, but they indicated that research projects and even child service programs funded by OCD may well have been detrimental because they were based on such premises.

4. Utilization of Research Findings

Concern in this area was somewhat contradictory. On the one hand, respondents were critical of research conducted for its own ends without corresponding efforts to implement findings through programs. Other interviewees were of the opinion that findings which evaluate minorities as "deprived" and "culturally disadvantaged" had been incorporated in fact into compensatory programs to the detriment of minority groups.

Examples

Respondents reported that only 5% of OCD research funds had gone to minority institutions, although allegedly 83% of research subjects were members of minority groups.

Subjects saw the funding of non-minority institutions to conduct certain studies (e.g., adoptions of black children, the interrelationship of race and intelligence) are particularly insensitive to minority concerns.

Interviewees felt that OCD had provided direct assistance to non-minority research applicants (e.g., sharing agency objectives, help with grant applications) and hence was fully justified in aiding minorities in this manner.

According to the present system of proposal review, minorities on review panels could in the opinion of respondents always be outvoted, even on projects concerning minority groups.

D. Racism (Institutional and Individual)

Introduction

As discussed above, racism was perceived by most OCD minority personnel as institutionalized mind-sets and patterns of behavior, of which non-minorities may not have been aware. Although racial factors clearly impacted other problem areas as well, the following concerns are among those most frequently noted as indicators of the existence of racism within OCD.

Concerns

1. The "Melting Pot"

Many respondents expressed an awareness of the distinctiveness of the culture and life experiences of minority groups. They saw as racist the presumption on the part of non-minorities in OCD that these differences were insignificant or could be subsumed under the heading of "poverty" or "cultural disadvantage" and therefore disregarded.

2. Presumptions of Superiority and Inferiority

The shift of emphasis from "parent participation" to "parent development" perceived by several respondents was seen as a presumption that parenting among minority groups was inferior. Similarly, the notion that non-minority professionals could and did plan programs for minority group clients without significant input from these groups was also seen as a reflection of racist attitudes of superiority.

3. Minorities as "Invisible Men"

Several interviewees reported experiences in OCD where they were ignored, confidential matters were openly discussed as if they were not present and their feelings and reactions were simply not considered by colleagues and superiors alike. (See next

section)

4. Dual Standards

Respondents indicated that low levels of performance, bigoted attitudes and other personal shortcomings among non-minorities were tolerated by OCD's leadership while it was felt that they would not have been if minorities had exhibited the same behavior.

5. Inequality of results

A number of respondents had no personal encounters with racism to report. Yet they were aware of certain visible results of racism's cumulative effects, such as the paucity of minority decision-makers, contractors, grantees and consultants, and the disproportionate representation of minorities in lower grades.

6. Overt Racism

Overt racism on the part of certain OCD non-minority personnel was perceived to exist. It took the form of remarks, statements and behavior which reflected a belief in the inferior nature and/or status of minority groups and the presumption of superiority on the part of the persons in question.

Examples

The number one agency objective for the current fiscal year, the Child Development Associate program, is reportedly being developed with the inputs of only one minority staff member.

A GS-6 black secretary, having been asked by her supervisor to attend a conference, was given a list of tasks to be performed, the first two of which were to wax the conference table with Johnson wax and to remove dead flowers from the centerpiece.

A white supervisor commented in front of a third person and the blacks in question that the work of two blacks on his staff equalled the efforts of one of the whites in his unit.

Interviewees saw the widespread criticism of ethnic references in the "Healthy, That's Me" series and the absence of reliable statistics on the number of minorities served by H/S programs after seven years of operation as examples of OCD's inability to accept racial and cultural differences as valid.

Minority group representatives reported frequent derogatory terms and comments made in their presence by non-minority personnel such as "Boy,""Poncho" and "Watch out for your scalp!"

E. OCD Goals and Policies

Introduction

There was agreement in general terms among minority personnel concerning OCD's organizational purpose, which most subjects cited as some variation on the following: operational responsibility for child development programs (H/S); coordination of child care and related activities; and advocacy efforts on behalf of all children.

There was also near consensus concerning the validity of H/S objectives for child service programs operated by OCD. "Parent participation," "comprehensive development," "community action" and "priority to those most in need" seemed to offer some opportunities for self-determination by minority groups and were considered important principles to be preserved.

But these objectives were also perceived as being under attack. The lack of clarification of present OCD policies was viewed as evidence that the earlier goals of H/S programming had been or were being abandoned, to be replaced by a pre-War on Poverty approach to social programming which ascertained that the experts can and should make decisions for those directly affected by their policies.

Minority personnel, perceiving these developments, expressed several concerns in this problem area:

Concerns

1. Political Constraints

There was a general realization among respondents that the policies of any federal agency would have to be limited by political realities. Thus, it was seen as possible that certain H/S principles, which OCD ostensibly endorses, would not be fully supported by the present administration. But several interviewees also expressed the conviction that OCD had been more constrained by political factors than was necessary, and that there had been a wider range of political opinions to strengthen the agency's bargaining position than the directorate had been apparently willing to use.

2. Policy Formulation

Respondents at all levels, but particularly those in contact with the field, reported that the dearth of clearly stated policies handicapped them. Where policies did exist, they were communicated by word of mouth and/or discovered by the process of trial and error. But they were either written in incomplete form or not recorded at all.

3. Minority Participation in Policy-Making

A substantial number of subjects interviewed expressed an awareness of the role played in the formulation of OCD policy by task forces, outside contractors, grantees, consultants and advisory bodies, and thus saw the manner in which they were chosen and their racial composition as an important issue. It was felt that minority participation in these areas, although improved in recent years, was still unrepresentative and insufficient.

4. Narrowness of Policy

Several respondents expressed the conviction that OCD might exercise more fully its mandate. A more forceful public advocacy role was recommended as were more extensive youth activities. A number of interviewees also felt that OCD unnecessarily compartmentalized its approach to child care programming. The agency did not build upon the fact that certain minority groups viewed the child as an integral part of the community and hence, did not expand the concept of comprehensiveness to include community development activities.

Examples

Respondents saw as significant the fact that there had been no activation of the National Advisory Parent Council since 1969; no Head Start National Conferences had been scheduled.

According to interviewees, only two members of the PAP Task Force were representatives of minority groups, or approximately one-tenth of the total. On the other task forces convened by OCD, there had been allegedly no representation.

OCD had played an active public advocacy role only once (re behavior-modifying drugs) in the three years of its existence.

The only policy manual available to OCD staff was written by OIO in 1967, and according to respondents, it is badly in need of updating.

F. Agency Communications and Coordination

Introduction

Another factor cited as contributing to low employee morale among minority staff was the lack of communication and coordination of activities within the agency. For knowledge of OCD objectives and programs was seen as essential if personnel were to perform responsibly and competently.

Concerns

The problem was perceived in several dimensions. First, policies and program decisions once determined were not stated in clear unmistakable terms. Second, there was insufficient transmission of available information concerning OCD's goals and activities, throughout the system, indeed "information hoarding" was identified as a problem. Third, the two divisions of OCD, the Children's Bureau and Head Start seemed to coexist as separate organizations. Fourth, there was so little personal interaction that many OCD employees expressed not feeling as they belonged to an organization at all. Fifth, staff meetings were seen as being not only infrequent (interviewees reported having attended one OCD'wide meeting in one and one-half years), but were also commonly perceived as being unproductive, since there was so little opportunity for the sharing of information and a give and take exchange between the directorate and other personnel.

Examples

One respondent reported not having found out about the transfer of the research functions to the Children's Bureau until three months after it occurred.

Two OCD publications departments (one for CB and one for H/S) coexist in the same room in the HEW south building, and according to interviewees each is staffed separately and reports to separate OCD divisions.

A substantial number of the clerical staff reported not being as knowledgeable about the function of their immediate offices or OCD as a whole as they would have liked, because they had never been exposed to an orientation session about OCD's purposes, objectives and activities.

G. Supervisory Attitudes and Office Protocol

Introduction

It is obvious from the vantage point of minority personnel that perceived attitudes of rigidity and insensitivity on the part of supervisors and colleagues would be thrown into even bolder reliefs by perceptions of racism. Still it was clear that race was not always a variable. Several observers noted that human relations was a problem throughout OCD. And this was not a concern limited to support staff alone, for professionals also reported incidents where supervisors and colleagues had been callous and unfeeling.

Such behavior was attributed to several causes. First, the problem appeared to be more acute in recent recruits from the

private sector. Second, it was apparent that some personnel had had little experience with members of minority groups and little exposure to supervisory responsibilities. Third, there were long-standing patterns among supervisors and some OCD employees which had simply never been identified for correction. Whatever the cause, this issue appeared to contribute significantly to perceptions of organizational malaise. Several interview subjects expressed the feeling in fact that in OCD their humanity was under constant assault.

Concerns

1. Misuse of Authority

A substantial number of support staff reported being asked consistently to perform tasks to which their job descriptions did not refer. They felt that there was little or no understanding on the part of their supervisors that such tasks (e.g., getting one's lunch when one is not a personal secretary) could be performed as personal favors, but could not be expected on a regular basis. A number of respondents indicated in this regard an awareness of the requirements of civil service regulations and felt that they were being violated by such actions.

2. Common Courtesy

A number of professional and support staff reported that supervisors and colleagues would interrupt conversations, walk into offices without knocking and coopt the phones, chairs and desks of others without asking permission. Secretarial staff expressed particular bitterness that they were barely spoken to by certain professionals unless there was work to be done, and were never thanked or given credit for their assistance.

3. Retaliation

Several respondents reported experiences where their questioning of actions taken by supervisors or their refusal to perform non-authorized tasks had resulted in retaliatory action or threatened action.

4. Absence of Grievance Procedures

Interviewees reported that there was no real recourse within OCD for the resolution of grievance, short of filing formal complaints. Respondents who had attempted to seek redress had been told consistently that the only solution available for them was to seek a transfer.

5. Racial Factors

The presence of racism was seen in the superior attitudes and

commanding tone of voice of non-minority supervisors and respondents also perceived that white secretaries were not subjected to the same treatment.

Examples

A minority secretary working for four professionals was berated by one of the four (concerning whom several respondents lodged complaints) because she refused to walk three blocks to get stamps for his personal correspondence.

A professional had been assigned against his will to one task force after another after having questioned the position of the agency and of his supervisor concerning the involvement of minority groups in OCD.

A minority professional was ordered by her supervisor to "dress professionally" and perform menial tasks with the admonishment, "You have to learn to follow instructions."

A common complaint among executive secretaries was the refusal of certain whites to stop for instructions or to even acknowledge their presence before entering the office of their supervisors.

A GS-9 supervisor of a unit was asked by an OCD employee to load baggage into the latter's waiting car.

III. Conclusions

Minority personnel in OCD in the main are deeply committed to the overall purposes and objectivesof the organization. But they are also keenly aware of their status as members and representatives of the minority groups of which they are a part.

There is substantial agreement among professionals and support staff, blacks, Chicanos and other minorities, regarding major problem areas and concerns. And there is an apparent willingness to assist in attacking these problems, for nearly all persons interviewed had specific recommendations for their resoluation.

The key to the more effective participation of minorities in the Office of Child Development appears to lie both in their perceptions of the agency's responsiveness to their community and individual concerns and in the as yet undocumented facts upon which their perceptions are based. The waiting reserve of untapped motivation, energy and interest, which this report does document, would seem to merit efforts to substantiate these concerns. And the prospects for heightened organizational effectiveness, resulting from the removal of perceptual and actual barriers to greater involvement in OCD, would suggest a rationale for corrective action.

APPENDIX D

How the Center for the Study of Minority Group Mental Health Programs Can Help in the Alleviation of Mental Health Problems of Blacks

A Report on the Conference on Program Planning
Sponsored by
The Center for the Study of Minority Group Mental Health Programs
National Institute of Mental Health

Spring 1972

Introduction

In July of 1971, the National Institute of Mental Health established the Center for Minority Group Mental Health Programs. This Center is part of the Division of Special Mental Health Programs. The Center became operational under the direction of James Ralph, M.D., Center Chief; Willie Williams, Ph.D., Administrative Secretary; Miss Catherine Mills, Grants Assistant; and Mrs. Lidia Crane, Secretary. The general function of the Center is the administration of programs of grant support for research to develop increased knowledge of minority groups, their relationships to other groups, and the particular mental health concerns in their communities. A further function is the funding of projects designed to prepared minority group members for professional and paraprofessional careers in the mental health field.

On December 10-11, 1971, an interdisciplinary group of Blacks - psychiatrists, psychologists, sociologists, economists, educators, and other mental health professionals and paraprofessionals - convened to establish more specific goals and strategies for implementation by the Minority Center in relation to the mental health of Blacks. Chairman of the plenary session was Chester M. Pierce, M.D., of the Harvard Medical School. Participants on the plenary session panel were black executives and administrators of various Divisions of the National Institute of Mental Health. The Divisions and their respective representatives are as follows: Director, Division of Special Mental Health Programs, James A. Goodman, Ph.D.; Associate Director of the Division of Manpower and Training, William Denham, Ph.D.; Director of the Division of Mental Health Service Programs, Claudewell Thomas, M.D.; Deputy Associate Director for Program Coordination to the Office of the Director, Bob Brown; Acting Deputy Executive Officer to the Office of the Director, James E. Pittman; Chief, Personality and Cognitive Research Section of the Division of Extramural Research, Alvin E. Goins, Ph.D.

The panel members were most resourceful in providing conference participants with basic information about budget, availability of funds, and program priorities.

Following the plenary session were work sessions in which the groups discussed, analyzed, and decided issues such as 1) the definition of Black Mental Health; 2) manpower requirements necessary for positive Black Mental Health; 3) research needs for positive advancement of Black Mental Health; and 4) goals and strategies for the achievement of short and long term mental health objectives of Blacks.

Summary Group Reports

GROUP I: What is Black Mental Health?

Participants:

J. Alfred Cannon - Chairman
James Blackwell
James H. Carter
John R. Jill
Roy Bryce LaPorte
Idelle Major - Staff
William Pierce
Jewell Prestag
Council Taylor
John Turner

Background:

The definition of Black Mental Health, because of its all-pervasive nature, was approached from several perspectives. Prior to outlining the various dimensions to be considered, it was clarified that the task of the group was to define the mental health psychological and physical needs of Blacks as a minority group and not Black Mental Health. The rationale was that the concept of mental health is a universal one. However, it is because of racism (intellectual, institutional, and personal) and the consequent erroneous notions and illnesses that have been attributed to Blacks and their milieu that the need for such exclusive ownership evolved.

The aspects considered in the development of the definition are: a) life styles as related to race; b) psychological stance of Blacks; c) genetics vs. environment; d) individual and group mental health; e) the dichotomy - illness/health or function/dysfunction. A basic conclusion drawn is that the definitive criteria of Mental Health for Blacks must not be based upon that of Whites mainly because the causes and the effects of stress and other mental health determinants differ with Blacks. Illustrative of that reality is the fact that in White America, Blacks are forced to function in two social systems, each demanding different life styles and/or behaviors. Therefore, the group declared it imperative that a new psychological stance and clinical approach be developed by Black behavior scientists, spychologists, and psychiatrists reflecting an awareness of and sensitivity to Black survival and coping skills. It was further concluded that from a group life mental health perspective, the ritual of "rapping" has both negative and positive aspects which need researching. A similar research need is a psychological conceptualization of "soul" and its relationship to the mental health of Blacks.

The group then concluded that because of the complexity of defining the mental health needs of Blacks that the process must be an on-going one; that the definition should take into account the historical, existential, and futuristic dimensions of the Black American; that already too much effort has been futilely spent deciding what Blacks do not need or want,

i.e., racism and oppression. The time now is for positive and definitive action by Blacks.

Recommendations:

In keeping with the mandate for affirmative action by Blacks, the following recommendation was made: That the Center for the Study of Minority Group Mental Health Programs (SMGMHP) support research grants which (1) preserve and foster group or collective functioning of Blacks by creating and maintaining in-group standards and criteria, and by perpetuating and maintaining Black role models and cultural heroes, and (2) strengthen individual survival and functioning skills through more sophisticated and extensive research in the psychology of Blacks.

GROUP II: What are the Manpower Requirements to Achieve and Maintain Black Mental Health?

Participants:

Jacqueline J. Jackson - Chairman
Oris Amos
Calvin Brown
James Comer
Joseph Phillips
Emerson Stamps
Ernestine Thomas
Kenneth Woodward

Background:

The tone of this work session was one of exploration mainly because certain data was not available to the group. Data that would have facilitated the session included (a) a working definition of Mental Health for Blacks, and (b) statistics on the present manpower level among Blacks in areas of mental health and health delivery services. In the absence of the above information the following questions were posed: (1) What is of greater priority and challenge to the mental health of Blacks - the development of professionals or the development of para-professionals? (2) Which should receive greater emphasis - Blacks in Black colleges or Blacks wherever they might matriculate? In discussion of the two questions, the following inititatives were agreed upon: (1) That career ladders with greater mobility for both professionals and para-professionals should be created for mental health workers employed by educational institutions and health agencies, (2) That because 52% of all Blacks still reside in the South and yet it suffers most for Black Mental Health workers, that training programs (grants) should be developed which require participants, upon completion of training, to work in the South.

Deliberations on critical issues such as the actual utilization of mental health services and the content of mental health training programs gave rise to the following questions: (1) What can be done to insure that Blacks will return to mental health facilities after one visit? It has been discovered that less than 1% of Blacks return to mental health facilities after their first visit; (2) What can Black mental health workers do to assist the CSMGMHP in establishing social problems of Black communities among the mental health concerns of NIMH? (3) What kind of monitoring system is necessary to insure that newly designed relevant curricula for training Black mental health personnel be taught without reduction in quality and impact?

Recommendations:

The group, realizing that in order to globally improve the supply and achievements of Black manpower in mental health that its recommendations must apply nationally and locally, made the following recommendations: (1) That Review Committees

and other policy and decision-making bodies be reflective in composition of the populations they serve; (2) That at least 12% of all federal funds allocated for the training of mental health workers in psychiatry, psychology, behavioral science, social work, and other mental health areas, be earmarked specifically for Blacks; (3) That the CSMGMHP develop an undergraduate mental health generalist major which would be funded at Black Colleges and Universities; (4) That funding of all training proposals submitted to NIMH be contingent upon demonstrated relevancy to minority group student participants and minority populations; (5) That CSMGMHP should develop a training program to provide in-service education for persons with years of experience in delivering mental health services without the necessity of formal educational credentials. Likewise, there should be mobility ladders which influence promotion and salaries for such people.

GROUP III: What Essential Research is Needed for the Positive Advancement of Black Mental Health?

Participants:

Andrew Billingsley
Robert Brown
John Dill
Vernon Dixon
Alvin Goins
Reginald Jones, (Chairman)
Bruce Lee
Albert McQueen
Betty Morrison
Wade Nobles
Jeanne Spurlock, (Recorder)
Cenie Williams

Background:

Several assumptions guided this group's discussions on the topic, "What essential research is neede for the positive advancement of Black Mental Health?" The first assumption was that any program of research which presumes to deal with the positive advancement of Black mental health must be interdisciplinary in character, and that it must include representatives of the non-professional Black community. A second assumption was that research on Black mental health must be done by Black people. In developing this assumption there was agreement that much of the problem with current research in this area is that it has been dominated by the values and models of white social science and has merely, in many cases, fostered negative stereotypes of Black people and Black mental health. A third assumption was that due to limitations of time, it would be most profitable to direct the group's attention to recommendations concerning the development and institutionalization of structures for planning, conducting, monitoring, and assessing research on Black mental health rather than to recommending specific research projects. However, some attention was devoted to recommending research ideas. This was done with the awareness that the specific nature of any proposed research project would be formed and shaped by the definition of Black mental health as developed at the Conference.

Recommendations:

There was agreement that much of the research related to Black mental health has been conducted by whites and/or dominated by the values and models of white social science. The more objectionable elements of this model include the following: (1) that white middle class behavior constitutes the norms against which Black behavior is evaluated; (2) the failure to take account of the interrelated forces that create and maintain racism and hence influence Black mental health: and the corollary, that the problems of Blacks are to be found within themselves and their life experiences; and (3) the interminable victim analysis, the comparisons of Blacks and whites, and the deficiency-deprivation explanations of Black behavior.

A need exists for thorough and systematic assessment of all past and current research related to Black mental health. This work must be done by Blacks.

Two recommendations to CMGMHP for institutionalizing practices to deal with the above problems were suggested:

Rec. 1: That a section within CMGMHP be developed to assess past research, to appraise ongoing research, and to give special attention to the utilization of research results related to Black Mental Health.

Such a section would be expected to have both a long-term and a short-term perspective, giving attention to programs of research already in existence, but also to needs in the decades ahead. The section also would be responsible for insuring that the results of research be channeled into appropriate decision-making channels. The mechanism for development of the section, and the relationship of such a section to existing advisory groups, are of course details which will have to be worked out by CMGMHP officials.

Also within the context of center organization, it was recommended:

Rec. 2: That a program of intramural research be developed as a part of CMGMHP to which specialized investigators could be attracted for purposes of conducting research on problems related to Black mental health.

As was the case with recommendation 1, the precise mechanism for instituting the intramural program will have to be explored - i.e., whether a part of the general NIMH intramural research program, or a specialized intramural program within CMGMHP. Recommendations with respect to the form of the intramural program were, of course, beyond the scope of the work group's charge.

Interdisciplinary research and demonstration centers devoted to problems of Black mental health have not been developed anywhere in this country. Such centers could have enormous value in spearheading research and practice in the area of Black mental health and in training specialists for work in this area. These would be exemplary research and demonstration centers staffed with Black specialists from the many disciplines which can contribute to the understanding of the forces which influence and relate to mental health. In the light of the need for model centers for research and demonstration in the area of Black mental health the work group recommended the following:

Rec. 3: That CMGMHP support the development of model interdisciplinary research and development centers for work in the area of Black mental health.

The suggestion was made that centers be established in various regions of the country and in the early phases, located in urban areas and tied to Black universities and other institutions. The cliche "easier said than done" was recognized by the work group: there are too few Black professionals trained to staff model centers and too few viable host institutions. We offer no solution to these problems but note that the challenge to CMGMHP is to create the proper incentives which would make affiliation with centers attractive to appropriately prepared Black professionals and to Black institutions.

It is apparent that there will be a need for staffing grants, and for fellowship support for students enrolled in training programs if the Centers are to develop and flourish. Obviously, money for these activities should be included in any estimates of projected center costs.

Discussion of the physical location of model centers called up a critical issue in the support of research on Black mental health. There was agreement among participants on two points: (1) that good Black researchers must be supported where they can be found; and (2) that early centers be located in Black institutions. Some participants pointed out that many excellent Black professionals are employed in white institutions and that many very good Black students are attracted to these same institutions. These individuals should not be denied, it was argued, the largest amount of support be given to Black institutions. On the other hand, a number of participants questioned the likelihood that the predominantly white institutions would have the climate in which research on Black mental health - with its rejection of many of the social science values fostered in the host institution - could flourish. Were not these institutions responsible for m[illegible] of the mess in the first place? As one participant put it: "Blacks going to white schools may well learn the wrong th[illegible]gs." Two points emerged: (1) that the white institutions will have to be changed, and that Black professionals employed in these institutions will have to lead the charge in this direction; and, (2) that at the present time several Black institutions show great promise of a rapid accomodation of centers for research and development on Black mental health. This latter point, and others already mentioned, in conjunction with the fact that Black institutions have been generally underfunded, led the group to recommend that early centers (if not all centers) be tied to Black institutions.

Once research and development on Black health has been conducted, the results must be communicated. Certain empirical work, and informed opinion, has indicated that many Black professionals feel that reports of their research and writing often do not receive a fair hearing in the scholarly journals and magazines. In the light of the above observations, the group recommended:

Rec. 4: That CMGMHP explore the availability of publication

outlets for the dissemination of research and writing by professionals concerned with Black mental health and, if deficiencies are found, that mechanisms be developed for redressing this problem area.

Projects related to Black mental health are scattered among many governmental bureaus, institutes, and divisions. The student or professional interested in work on Black mental health finds no single repository or listing of documents. To fill this void the work group suggested:

Rec. 5: That CMGMHP be responsible for developing and maintaining a listing of all projects related to Black mental health.

A number of additional recommendations whose values are so obvious as to require little additional supporting information are offered CMGMHP for consideration.

"Rape" is a familiar cry of many opponents of research in the Black community. There is legitimate concern with the failure of many white researchers to involve Blacks in project conception and management. There is concern that so much research on Blacks has no discernible payoff for Black people. Many problems of this sort could probably be avoided if sufficient attention were given to early project conceptualization. In the light of the above concerns the work group recommended:

Rec. 6: That CMGMHP be responsible for establishing a set of guidelines for research in the Black community. These guidelines are to be integrated into all NIMH programs, NIH, and other agencies; and are to be continuously monitored.

To encourage more and sounder projects by professionals concerned with Black mental health, CMGMHP should

Rec. 7: Hold a series of meetings throughout the country for purposes of discussing grantsmanship.

Specific Research Projects:

A number of research studies were suggested. In proposing studies participants made no attempt at systematic coverage or at exhaustiveness; and of course, no assessments were made of the differential merits of any single proposed investigation. Some suggested projects represented the participants' own interests and enthusiasms; other proposed projects were identified as critical from the perspective of the participants' disciplines. Nevertheless, it is highly likely that any comprehensive listing of research needed for the positive advancement of Black mental health would include many, if not all, of the investigations suggested below. Recommended projects included systematic study and research into (1) child

rearing practices in Black families; (2) creativity in Black children; (3) winners and losers (using a Black mental health perspective, how are adjusted Blacks differentiated from maladjusted Blacks?); (4) the theory of dual economy (as related to the high degree of instability created by the system of public education); (5) the fantasy life of Black children; (6) race and institutional race as variables in research; (7) a new social psychology of adaptation of Blacks to urban settings; (8) school system and teacher behavior as conditioners of the affective and cognitive development of Black children; (9) special populations (e.g., the aged, prisoners, hustlers, middle age Blacks, Black male-female interaction roles, the Black middle class, and Black leadership). Suggestions were made also for the study of (10) Black institutions, and (11) effective incentives for Black people. (12) The corruption of success, and "Limbo Negroes" (trained middle aged professionals who were unable to obtain professional appointments immediately after training) were additional topics suggested. (13) Black adoption, and (14) the development of programs for developing a positive self concept in Black children were noted as areas needing study. Finally, (15) Fundamental questions related to whether or not Blacks are an African people, and whether existing methodologies are appropriate for the examination of Black mental health will need to be studied, as will (16) general and new fundamental approaches to social science research which will appropriately reflect the realities of being a Black in America.

At the methodological level some attention was given to the need for multivariate and for longitudinal studies.

GROUP IV: What Strategy Must Be Devised to Chart the Course of Black Mental Health From the Present to the Year 1982?

Participants:

Marcos Alexis - Chairman
Rosa Clausell (Staff)
Walter Dean
Homer Favor
William Hayes
Evelyn Moore

Background:

Strategizing implies an approach to achieve a specific end. The approach emerging to determine strategies for the achievement of mental health goals for Blacks via NIMH involves three steps: (1) a definition of goals, (2) an assessment of necessary steps for the achievement of goals, and (3) implementation. In defining the goals, it is necessary to categorize them as political, economic, and social. Of these goals, the most permeating are the political. It is recognized that politics are basic in the building of organized, collective power to insure the achievement of economic and social goals. In defining the goals, the group developed the following concepts and recommendations:

> The first concept is political power. The elements of political power are self-determination and electoral politics. Control over one's own destiny is basic and essential to the positive mental health of Blacks. The goal which must be achieved in order to realize greater self-determination is increased involvement by NIMH. Intrinsic in this goal is the need for the establishment of a communication and dissemination system to inform and exhaustively search out all Black institutions potentially eligible for NIMH grants. Equally important in the achievement of the above goal is Black representation on all NIMH Review Committees and throughout the funding hierarchy.
>
> The second concept is economic power. The elements of this are equal employment, salary distribution, job mobility, and ownership of property.
>
> The third concept is social power, the elements of which revolve around the provision of quality health (mental) care for all citizens.

Recommendations:

Out of the above conceptualizations concerning the present and future mental health of Blacks evolved the following recom-

mendations:

(1) That an information dissemination system on available grant support and program priorities be established to increase and improve communications between NIMH and Black educational institutions.

A major concern was that in addition to the lack of communication about available grants, there is a lack of grantsmanship skills among Black institutions. The reasons for such skill deficiency are obvious. Therefore, the following recommendation was made:

(2) That a program in grantsmanship be created which can be made readily available to Black institutions preparing grant applications.

Job requirements and salary allocations vary geographically and always racially. Therefore, in order to avoid having Blacks victimized in either manner, the following recommendation was presented:

(3) That NIMH and CSMGMHP use their influence in establishing (legislating) equal job distribution and wage rates among all U. S. citizens.

With the average metropolitan city being populated by approximately 50-60% Blacks and other minority groups, it is important that the legislative, educational, legal and other decision- and policy-making bodies of such places be representative of their populations. In order to achieve such an end, the group made the following recommendation:

(4) That Blacks participate in all forms of higher education and legislation in proportion to population.

Black colleges are a very meaningful mental health resource for Blacks. However, they are in imminent danger of being either absorbed by or of losing their better students to white institutions. Therefore, the following recommendation was proposed as an attempt to avoid such dilemma:

(5) That CSMGMHP stimulates and funds research and training grants which will provide protection for Black colleges.

Very basic to group and/or individual mental health is self-awareness, positive self identity, and a functional formal education. It is with that objective in mind that the group made the following recommendation:

(6) That NIMH and CSMGMHP support public school programs which enhance positive self images and correct the abusive use of Special Education facilities.

Conclusion

The theme running throughout the entire conference, especially the individual work groups, is that a need exists to seek out the strengths of Black people - the positive components of Black behavior - and that a critical question to be asked of any research or training program is the likelihood that, ultimately, the results can be used to meaningfully intervene in the lives of Black people; and indeed can be demonstrated to have value in fostering the mental health of Black people.

The recommendations and goals presented in the individual group reports are representative of the many studies, projects that will need to be undertaken and the internal administrative and policy changes that must be made by the National Institute of Mental Health if the positive mental health of Blacks is to be developed and maintained. Many of the procedures which will lead to accomplishment of the aforementioned goals are embodied in the recommendations enumerated throughout this report.

CHAPTER FOUR

Research in Child Development: A Summary and Review of Three Critical Areas: Self-Concept, Language, and Intelligence

Introduction

Our focus in this section will be on reviewing the reported research in child development in three critical areas, self-concept, language, and intelligence. These areas have been chosen because of their centrality in child development research, programming, and by extension policy. Indeed, one is hard-pressed to find these areas absent in most designs for child development, be they concerned primarily with research, or programs. Since our concern is largely with the Office of Child Development, we shall also present a review of funded projects during Fiscal Year 1971-72 (June), in basic research. Regrettably, we were unable to go beyond 1971 with reference to OCD. This handicap was due largely to OCD's unique filing system. Our criticism of research in child development by and large will not focus on the anatomy of particular studies, at this time, except to illustrate our point, but rather it will zero-in on the fundamental assumptions underlying most current research in child development. To us, this is both more productive and constructive.

I. Self-Concept

This review of a random sample of the research on the self-concept, particularly as it relates to the black child is divided into the following sections: (1) the preschool years; (2) the primary school years; (3) the elementary school years; (4) the Junior High School years; and (5) miscellaneous.

A. Preschool

In reviewing some of the literature on the self-concept of black children, we found that most of the work has been done in recent years, primarily in the 1960's and the 1970's.

Much of the work on the self-concept of black preschoolers, however, refers to two important articles by Kenneth and Mamie

Clark, in 1939 and 1940. In the 1939 work, the Clarks investigated the race consciousness aspect of the development of consciousness of self in Negro preschool children. They found that when given a choice between identifying themselves with line drawings of a white boy, a Negro boy, or animals, the group of subjects (150 Negro children in segregated nursery schools) chose the Negro boy more than the white boy. As age increased, the choices of the Negro boy increased, and the animal (irrelevant) choice decreased. The Clarks' 1940 study further investigated race consciousness along these lines, but concentrated on the factor of skin color and its influence on racial identification and awareness. Using the same subjects, the authors subdivided the children by skin color gradations into light medium, or dark-skinned groups. The same line drawings were used, omitting the animal choice. Here, the results showed that as one moved from the light to the darker groups, the choice of the Negro boy over the white boy increased. That is, the light subjects identified more with the white boy, and the medium and dark subjects identified more with the Negro boy. The Clarks concluded that an important factor in the development of consciousness of self and racial identification is skin color, and also that identification of one's own race was made on the basis of physical characteristics rather than socially defined characteristics of racial groups.

Jumping now to the 1960's and 1970's, there are several different trends of research which will become apparent in the sections to follow. Some of the studies find that there are great differences in the self concepts of black and white children at different age levels; other studies do not detect differences between the races. In this paper we are reporting the results of these different studies; perhaps further investigation of them and more comparisons in detail would be beneficial.

The articles on the self-concepts of preschoolers were concerned with several different aspects of the area. Some support older studies dealing with the "disadvantaged" aspects

of Negro life, others report some impact of the current black movement.

Many of the articles involved comparisons. Morland (1966) compared preschool Negro children from a northern community with integrated schools and a southern community with segregated schools. The author found support for previous studies which found that there were differences in the racial awareness of Negroes and whites, whatever region of the country they were from. Morland found that in both regions, white subjects identified with and preferred their own racial members, and Negro subjects also identified with and preferred white members, due to the general preference for the white race in America. (It is interesting to note here that the Clarks and other authors to be discussed later found preferences for same race figures by black children. These two directions of findings are evident throughout the literature.)

Another comparison was made by Williams (1969) - between Negro preschool children in integrated suburban or segregated urban community programs. He also compared children from father-present and father-absent homes. His results showed that the boys from the suburban and urban programs did not differ in self-concept or verbal mental ability, but the girls in the suburban programs had higher self-concepts and superior verbal mental ability when compared to the urban girls. Also there were no differences in the self-concepts of boys and girls from father-absent homes in the urban community, suggesting that the absence of a father is not as important to the development of the Negro boy as it is to the development of the white boy.

A study by Long and Henderson (1968) investigated the effects of disadvantaged conditions on various aspects of Negro children's self-concepts. They found that these children, compared with white advantaged children of the same community, had lower self-esteem and less realistic color self-perceptions. However, since all the disadvantaged subjects were Negro, and all the advantaged ones white, the effects of race and poverty

cannot be separated in this study. (This was pointed out by the authors.)

Related to the unrealistic color conceptions in the Long and Henderson study are the studies which report a greater degree of racial misidentification responses among Negro children. Greenwald and Oppenheim (1968) discuss these, and replicate the studies with some changes in experimental procedure. They found that by adding a doll of intermediate color, along with the white and dark brown dolls for the children to select from as identifying themselves, the greater misidentification of Negro children decreased. In fact, the percentage was about the same as misidentification by white children of the same age. The authors did find, however, that evaluative responses by the subjects about the dolls revealed the greater unpopularity of the Negro dolls.

Related to the area of evaluation is the study by McAdoo (1971) in which she investigated the relationship between the self-concept of black preschool children and their evaluative attitudes towards whites and blacks. She found no correlation between the two, but did find that the children in her northern and southern samples did differ on self-concept. The children in the southern, rural, all-black community had significantly higher self-concepts than those from the northern, urban, integrated community. (No differences on racial attitudes for these groups.) Also, children from non-intact homes scored higher on all self-concept measures than those from homes that were intact.

Williams and Rousseau (1971) studied Negro preschoolers' identifications with the colors black and white, and compared them with previous studies with white preschoolers and black and white college students. The authors found that most subjects positively evaluated white, and negatively evaluated black. With in this general tendency, however, there was a difference between the black and white preschoolers: white subjects tended to increase the evaluative trend with age, and it decreased with age for the black group. This is perhaps due

to the influence of the black movement. In their discussion, the authors suggest that there are transcultural and transracial negative responses to the color black, perhaps stemming from an early fear of darkness. Reinforcement of this aversion may result in the negative evaluation. The authors suggest that a more neutral term than "black" is used by the movement to avoid negative effect, especially in the education of children.

A final article in the preschool section, by Sweet and Thornburg (1971) investigated black and white preschoolers' ideas about their own identity with their family situations. They found that children of each race and age identified with pictures of their own sex and race. However, white subjects did better than black subjects on familial tasks, and included themselves more frequently in the total familial picture.

B. Primary School

Some of the articles read in the primary school category also illustrate the two directions of research mentioned earlier in this paper.

Posner (1969) did a study to investigate the effect of the variables of socioeconomic status (SES), ethnicity, and intelligence on self-concept. Her subjects were children divided into groups based on the various levels of these variables. The ethnic groups were white, Negro, and Puerto Rican. The author found that the following groups of children had negative self-concepts: those from low SES background, or of Negro ethnicity, or below average intelligence. These groups also had greater self-ideal discrepancies.

A study by Storm (1971) similarly found lower self-concepts among black children. Again, the subjects were stratified according to the variables of race, sex, schoo, and SES. Although the Negro children did not differ from the white children in the areas of total, physical, or developmental self-concept, they had lower scores in the areas of affectional, social, peer, and emotional self-concepts. Also, the Negro

children reportedly had more distorted race images, and made more frequent other-race friendship selection than their white counterparts.

In contrast to these two studies just described, is a study by Harris and Braun (1971). They found that when black primary school children of representative sex, SES, and school background were given a racial preference test similar to the one used by the Clarks, the majority of the children chose the black figure, indicating preference for the black race. They also found a significant relationship between a subject's racial preference and self-esteem. Those subjects who had preferences for the black figure had higher self-concept scores than those who did not.

In the same vein is a study by Henderson, Goffney, and Butler (1969). The results of this study contradicted a number of previous ones which as the authors reported, had found inadequate self-images of black children as revealed through their incomplete drawings of human figures. The authors' subjects were primary school age children in Oregon from below-national-mean income families. The results indicated that while the Negro subjects did draw significantly more incomplete hands and nonsignificantly fewer arms than the white children, they also drew insignificantly more complete figures and significantly more complete faces than did the white children. The authors suggest caution in the use of small differences such as these.

Three more studies in the primary school category were on different topics. Rubin (1969) did a study to see if a Negro child's placement of him or herself in relation to a parental figure was a function of the same variables which operate for white children. The author had found in a previous study that for white children the two variables of sex and achievement were operating. The results of this second study indicated that for the Negro children, only achievement was an influential variable: achieving children of both sexes placed themselves further from parental figures than underachieving ones. The

authors suggest that Negro boys and girls should develop independence from parents early in life, in order to achieve.

A study by Burke (1969) sought to determine the relationships between self-concept of Negro children and several other variables, including creativity, intelligence, and teacher's perceptions. The subjects were Negro third-graders in a de facto segregated school. The author found that although there were no correlations between a child's intelligence scores and either his creativity or self-concept, the teachers used the intelligence test scores to evaluate the child on these latter two dimensions. The author urges that attention be given to such teaching techniques and the development of ones to identify children's creativity.

A final study in this area was a report by Lentz (1969) of a simple instrument that had been designed to measure self-concept in children in the primary grades. The instrument is called "My Self." At this point it seems useful to mention the kinds of measuring instruments that were used in the studies being reported in this section:

Children's Self-Social Constructs Tests
U-Scale (nonverbal measure of self-perceptions)
Pictorial Self-concept Instrument
Illinois Index of Self-Derogation
Farnham-Diggory Children Self-Evaluation Scale
Draw-a-Person Test
Kuethe Felt Figure Technique (modified)
The Self-concept and Motivation Inventory: What Face Would You Wear?
Self-Social Symbols Task
Self-Concept Scale
Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale
The Group Personality Projective Test
Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory
California Test of Personality
Tennessee Self-Concept Scale
Inferred Self-Concept Scale

Gordon's "How I See Myself" scale

C. Elementary School

In this age period, most of the studies fell into one of three categories: differences between Negro and white children's self-concepts at the elementary school level, the effects of integration, or the effects of supplementary programs specifically designed to improve various aspects of the self-concept of black children.

The studies on black-white differences in self-concept came to different conclusions. Gibby and Gabler in a 1967 study compared black and white sixth graders on the intelligence dimension of self-concept. They found that there were significant differences between the two groups: the white children had more accurate and more realistic self-perceptions than the black children, and more congruency between their self-perceptions and how they thought others perceived them. The authors suggest that "caste sanctions" can inhibit the intellectual growth of black children.

A study by White and Richmond (1970), however, found no differences between a group of advantaged white fifth graders and a group of disadvantaged black fifth graders in how the children perceived themselves and their peers.

These two studies differ in the measurements they used and perhaps the specific aspects of self-concept in which they were interested. The former study used intelligence ratings and the latter used the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory. Another factor to consider, however, is that the Gibby and Gabler study is several years older than the White and Richmond one, and it was during those particular years that there was a rise in the black movement, involving black pride, identity, and consciousness. The influence of this movement could have affected the self-perceptions of young blacks to some degree.

Lansman did a study in 1968 on the relationship between

self-image and achievement of black students in an integrated elementary school. He found that the black students had significantly lower achievement scores than the white students. (Results regarding self-concept scores are unclear here.) He concludes that more than racial integration is necessary to counteract the negative self-images that black children pick up outside of the school environment.

This brings us to the studies of the effects of racial integration in the schools.

One study by Anderson (1966) found that when black students in segregated and desegregated Tennessee elementary schools were compared, the students in the desegregated schools had significantly higher achievement records and IQ's than those in the segregated school, however, there were no differences in personal adjustment or personality patterns.

In a 1969 study, Meketon found some interesting results. She had hypothesized that black children in an integrated school would have decrements in self-esteem because of the stress involved in integration. She compared three elementary schools: one was de facto segregated, one was peacefully integrated, and one was anxiously integrated. However, contrary to her expectation, the students attending the anxiously integrated school had higher self-esteem scores than children in the other two schools. The author suggested that this was partially due to the great amount of support for the children given by the black parents in the community with the anxiously integrated school.

An interesting group of studies investigated the effects of various kinds of supplementary programs for the enhancement of the self-concepts of black children.

A study by Olsen (1969) investigated the effects of an enrichment tutoring program on the self-concept, intelligence, and achievement of black male underachievers in an inner city elementary school. Although the experimental subjects who had received the tutoring did receive teacher ratings indicating positive changes in self-confidence and self-worth, there were

no differences on the total self-concept scale nor the sub-scales, and no differences in intelligence or achievement scores. (There were several scattered small improvements in various subareas at various grade levels.)

Other studies reported more promising results. Smith (1971) studied the effects of a program designed to improve the school sttitudes, self-concepts, and achievement of black elementary school students. The results indicated that the experimental group, which had participated in the program, developed a more positive opinion of their competence in academic affairs, and their physical appearance, compared to the control group. However, there were no differences in achievement or school attitudes.

The program investigated by Golin (1971) was a "black consciousness" program which involved classes and activities pertaining to black cultural achievements. Subjects were fifth graders; experimental subjects participated in the program, control subjects did not. The results of the personality tests showed that while the females were not affected, the males in the experimental group showed significant improvement in various measures of mental health. The author suggests this sex difference may be due to the "greater vulnerability" of black males.

Manning (1971) examined the effects of a short term program which was set up to improve the self-concepts of black children by emphases on positive self-concepts and free self-expression. The results of tests administered showed that the experimental group which had participated in the program had made significant improvements in self-esteem.

While not specifically reporting the effects of a program, Lang (1971) found that the effects of increased emphases in Texas schools on knowledge of Negro leaders and events had some positive effects on fifth graders. There was a significant positive correlation between self-concept and knowledge of leaders and events, and between the knowledge and reading achievement.

Dimas (1970) investigated the effects on black fourth and

sixth graders of viewing movies with black models, compared to students viewing movies with white models. While there were no differences between the groups on the gross self-concept score, the students seeing the black model films had more positive scores in the following subareas of self-concept: sense of power, group identification, identification with parents.

A last study in this elementary school section dealt with the self-concepts and achievement of economically disadvantaged Negro boys. Meyers (1967) found positive correlations between positive self-concept and achievement, and between positive self-concept and positive attitude toward Negroes. Also, achievers were more accepting of their ethnic membership than underachievers. The author concluded that the "civil rights issue" will help change the self-concept of Negroes, and the achievement orientation of Negro children.

D. Junior High School

Four studies dealt with junior high school students. Again, in this section, two studies differed on comparisons of self-concepts of ethnic groups.

Lefebvre (1971) studied Negro and white students from all-one-race schools, matched on various background variables. The subjects were given the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale. He found that the Negro subjects scored significantly lower on many of the test's subscales, and they also had higher maladjustment scores. However, the author's hypothesis that the children (of whatever race) with lower self-concepts would have more unrealistic aspiration levels was not supported; although the Negro subjects had lower self-concept scores, they did not have unrealistic aspirations - in fact, their educational and aspirational goals were higher than those of the white subjects.

Healy (1970) ran a study to determine if there are differences in the self-concepts of students with three different ethnic backgrounds: Negro, Anglo, and Spanish-American, and

what the influences and/or interactions of ethnicity, sex, and SES might be. The subjects were ninth graders from public junior high schools in New Mexico. The results indicated that there were no significant differences between the three ethnic groups on the measure of self-concept, although Negroes and Spanish-American subjects gave more defensive self-descriptions than the Anglo subjects.

Taylor (1968) studied the self-concept changes occurring in Negro and white students in the first year of a desegregated school. There was a control group of students in a segregated school. The author found that Negro and white students differed in the following subareas: centrality, dependency, individuation, and power. These differences were stronger in the segregated school. The only self-concept changes noticed after one year of desegregation were in the socialization patterns - there was an increased identification with a friend among the subjects in the desegregated school. Overall, the Negro students in the desegregated school had a general decrease in feelings of self-esteem though there had been an initial rise. White students experienced a general increase in "centrality" though here there had been an initial decrease.

Price (1971) investigated the effects of films with successful professional black models on the self-concept of black children, in grades 5 through 8. Experimental subjects saw the films, control subjects did not. Although it was hypothesized that film exposure would increase intellectual and physical self-esteem, self-worth, and internal controls, no such effects were noted in the results.

E. Miscellaneous

In this section, studies are reported in which either the age of the subjects was not given, or the subjects' ages span the divisions used in this review.

Walker (1969) investigated the changes in the self-concept of Negro children during the first two years of attendance in

an integrated school. The subjects were lower and middle class Negro students in segregated and integrated schools. The results showed that after the first year, there were no significant self-concept changes. However, during the first year, the middle class students in the integrated school had less decreases in self-concept than the middle class students in the segregated school. Also, the middle class students had no decreases in the second year although the lower class students did.

Vail (1971) studied the effects of a "leaderless group counseling technique" on the self-concept and intellectual and behavioral development of disadvantaged Negro girls (no age given). However, there was no effect for the treatment, as the experimental and control groups did not differ significantly in any of the above areas.

Roberts (1971) evaluated the effects of a "success-oriented behavior modification technique" on the self-esteem of third and seventh graders in Atlanta. However, there were no significant increases in self-esteem as a result of the experimental program, for either of the groups.

McDaniel (1968) ran a study to investigate the relationships between the self-concept of "low income culturally different" children and various variables, e.g., race, sex, grade, IQ, achievement, etc. Subjects were Anglo, Negro and Latin-American public school students in grades one through six, in schools receiving financial aid. The author found that whatever the ethnic or family structure background, the culturally different child had a positive self-concept. While the Anglo self-concept differed from that of the Latin-American child, it did not differ from the Negro child's.

Yeatts (1968) examined Negro and white students in grades three through twelve to see if their self-reports differed due to race, sex, and SES at the different levels. The measure used was "How I See Myself." She found that although self-conceptions did vary with age and sex, they did not vary with race and SES. There were more common than unique factors among the groups, and some concerns transcended the group divisions.

II Language Behavior

There are approximately thirteen studies in the psychological research literature which identifiably examine the language behavior of black or lower class children between the ages of 0 and 5 years of age. (The reason for this age restriction here has to do with the notion that after this time particular linguistic systems are expressed in less pure form.)

The earliest of these was published in 1955 and investigated the effect of early language behavior in Negro children on the testing of intelligence. The other studies all date from 1969, the most recent of which was published in March, 1972.

A variety of experimental designs are used, as well as several measuring devices. Some of the research deals with the deficiency vs. difference controversy. Recommendations are made by some of the experimenters about the most efficient and productive methods of teaching language to the disadvantaged.

Four general areas of the broader topic have been investigated. One study concerns itself with the effect of the examiners' different skin color on the verbal responsiveness of Negro children in intelligence testing. Three reports examine various linguistic aspects of Black or low income children.

Benjamin Lagey's 1971 study investigates the use of non-reinforced behavioral modification techniques in controlling the frequency of descriptive adjectives in the spontaneous speech of Head Start children. By eliminating the possibility of simple repetition of the experimenter, he sought through modeling to increase or decrease the use of descriptive adjectives in describing various objects. Though only one aspect of language was manipulated, he implied that the procedure is useful for others. This is not a method of teaching the elements of language, but of modifying their usage.

Greeson and Jacobson also explored the modification of language behavior, but sought to find the optimal level of complexity of modeled information that would result in maximal

behavioral change. Using two conditions of training (1) simple labeling or naming skills; (2) basic descriptive and expressive language skills, and five language response classes: (1) labeling responses; (2) action verbs; (3) polar concepts; (4) color adjectives; and (5) location prepositions, they found that modeling of simple language units resulted in more effective language acquisition than complex units, although there was a modest, but not significant, increase in their usage.

In trying to locate the areas of language deficiency of black children, Ammon and Ammon (1971), gave one group of subjects sentence training and another vocabulary training. Their results implied that vocabulary training is more beneficial than sentence training for disadvantaged black children.

Blank and Frank (1971) studied the effects on later syntactic and semantic performance as a result of varying the mode of presentation to permit different levels of participation from the child. One group of subjects simply listened to a story they later had to retell and answer questions about. Another group repeated each sentence separately. The results were in favor of the repeating group.

Holding race constant and varying socio-economic class, Jeruchimowicz, Costello and Bagur (1971) investigated qualitative and quantitative differences in knowledge of action and object words. The results showed a better performance by the middle class group on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test, but differences were not significant for an Expressive Language sample.

In the context of two studies conducted concurrently to determine whether there are significant differences in selected characteristics between economically advantaged and disadvantaged children, Kunz and Mayer (1969) tested vocabulary, length of sentences spoken and naming and defining ability. The null hypothesis was rejected for vocabulary, retained for sentence length and partially retained for naming and defining ability.

Bruininks, Lucker and Gropper (1970) compared the psycho-

linguistic abilities of good and poor readers. Two different teaching methods were employed and good and poor readers were selected from each method. Nine categories of linguistic skill were tested. Differences were not consistent across the two teaching methods.

Painter (1969) and Ciasen, Spear and Tomaro (1969) investigated language training programs. Painter's study in two parts, tested an experimental tutorial program designed to accelerate the spontaneous development of infants and prevent anticipated cognitive and language deficits. The IQ scores taken after one year of training were significantly higher than a matched control group.

Ciasen, Spear and Tomaro (1969) investigated whether a concentrated language training program is more valuable than the traditional socially oriented compensatory programs available to children. The results showed that an intensive language program caused significant improvement in linguistic skills. The effects also persisted over time.

The Baratz (1969) study used Negro dialect and standard English stimuli to help destroy the myth that disadvantaged children have a language deficiency. Through a repetition task she was able to demonstrate that black children speak a different language.

In a recent study, Quay (1972) found that black children do not benefit from having the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Test administered in dialect. This result also raised questions concerning the efficacy of using the Negro dialect in other areas of assessment and instruction with young children.

Using Mexican bi-lingual children, Feldman and Shen (1971) attempted to show that in object constancy, naming and the use of names in sentences, bilinguals have an advantage over monolinguals. Their results showed a significant difference between the two groups.

Pasamanick and Knobloch, in an early study (1955) determined that verbal responsiveness was significantly different from comprehension behavior (p. 001) when using the Gesell Developmental Examination. The results support their hypothesis

that awareness of the examiner's different skin color caused sufficient inhibition to decrease verbal responsiveness by the children.

Of the thirteen studies reviewed, five have all black samples (Quay, Jeruchimowicz, et al., Ammon and Ammon, Greeson and Jacobson, Pasamanick and Knobloch). One (Baratz) is a true black-white comparison experiment. Two samples include black children along with other ethnic groups but are not directly concerned with racial differences (Blank and Frank, Feldman and Shen). The remaining studies may or may not have blacks in their samples and only specify that subjects are economically disadvantaged.

In general, the experimental designs and manipulations were quite conventional. Some, however, made an attempt at innovation. Quay administered the Stanford-Binet in a Negro dialect translation. Baratz also used Negro dialect stimuli to enable subjects to demonstrate their knowledge of language. Kunz and Mayer developed a list of words which was representative of the background and environment of disadvantaged children. This list of nouns was visually represented in both black and white and color pictures. Blank and Frank varied the sex of the hero of their story to facilitate identification by the subjects. The Ammon and Ammon study was designed to balance the effects of the different experimenters on testing.

Although the 1955 study of Pasamanick and Knobloch found significant differences between verbal responsiveness and comprehension behavior as a result of a racially different examiner, only one of the more recent studies used a black in this capacity. Jeruchimowicz, Costello and Bagur's subjects were all tested individually by the same female Negro examiner. One study described their examiners as white, college-educated women who had no connection with the regular preschool program (Ammon and Ammon).

The important aspect of an easy relationship between the child and experimenter seems painfully neglected in these studies. In the Lahey study, the experimenter had been in the

classroom the preceding week as an observer, but had not interacted with the children. During the experiment, which was based on no reinforcement, there was no verbal or visual contact made. To put the child at his ease with the tape recorder, he was allowed to say his name into it and play it back. It is possible that this one trial created more apprehension than it relieved. Although no special provisions were made to insure that verbal responsiveness and comprehension were equal on eleven of the thirteen studies, all of them base their results on some type of verbal communication between subject and examiner.

The one study which compared blacks and whites (Baratz) found that each racial group was significantly superior in repeating sentences in his own dialect. In other words difference rather than deficiency was the more reasonable explanation. Quay, on the other hand, found that Black subjects did not benefit from having the Stanford-Binet administered in dialect. However, it can be argued that this research dealing only with syntax as opposed to semantics skirts an important substantive issue, i.e., the relevance of the content of the Stanford-Binet for Black children. The results of Ammon and Ammon and Greeson and Jacobson agree that simple language units and vocabulary training are more beneficial in teaching language skills.

Sentence training and complex language units training produced no significant gains. These results must be considered in light of the above criticisms, however. They become particularly doubtful when Jeruchimowicz, Costello and Bagur, using a black examiner, report no significant differences in the expressive language samples of lower and middle socio-economic groups.

III Intelligence

This section briefly reviews selections from the literature on Afro-American intelligence, from 1952 to the present. The review will include substantial parts, published in the Harvard Educational Review and the Review of Educational Research of the debate precipitated by Arthur R. Jensen's "How Much Can We Boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement" with its argument of genetically based differences in black and white intelligence. Other items were selected for review from a random list of journal articles on the subject listed in the Psychological Abstracts from 1952 to the present. Especially important research and theory reported in the literature are also reviewed. The selection should thus adequately represent and reflect the research on intelligence and the Afro-American. The nature and gravity of this issue precludes its limitation to just the non-adult years.

The literature abstracted seems to fall, broadly, into the following categories, and shall be reviewed accordingly: (1) theoretic perspectives (genetic, environmental, and test bias); (2) cross-cultural and linguistic studies; (3) tests of culture and class fairness; (4) standardization and developmental studies; (5) test-situation and motivation studies; and (6) studies evaluating the success of actual programs and teaching methods.

A. Theoretic Perspectives

The theoretic and research efforts on Afro-American intelligence have largely revolved around a search for a satisfactory explanation of the oft-found fifteen point, one standard deviation, lower mean of Afro-American IQ scores when compared with the mean for the white population upon which these tests have been standardized. Underlying much of the work has been adherence to one of two alternative prior assumptions: Either 1) the tests are culture or class biased, and the

differential reflects the inadequacies of the tests and not actual differences in the racial or class distributions of intelligence; or 2) the tests are adequately reflecting actual differences in the distribution of intelligence in the population.

This second prior assumption in turn yields two alternative explanatory routes, which have been at the center of the most recent controversy on Afro-American intelligence. Either A) these actual differences in intelligence distribution are environmentally caused, by such factors as prenatal or nutritional deficiencies, family or child-rearing patterns, social economic, or cultural deprivations, inferior educational and training experiences, etc., or B) these actual differences in intelligence distribution are genetically caused - that is, that intelligence is a heritable trait differentially distributed through different races and classes in the population.

Jensen's (1969a) presentation of this last explanation, the genetic, has sparked the most recent and virulent of the controversies on Afro-American intelligence. Jensen contends that environmental factors have been overemphasized to the neglect of genetic determinants, and questions whether IQ and academic achievement can be boosted by compensatory programs. He sees such programs as based on two fallacious assumptions, the <u>average child</u> concept, by which all children are thought to have similar mental capabilities and development, and the <u>social deprivation</u> concept, which holds those who perform below average in school to have been deprived of certain experiences necessary for learning. These beliefs lead to the conclusion that if IQ can be boosted, academic achievement will follow.

Jensen feels that the belief in the almost infinite plasticity of intellect, the ostrich-like denial of biological factors of individual differences, and the slighting of the role of genetics in the study of the intellect, can only hinder investigation and understanding of the conditions, processes, and limits through which the social environment influences human behavior (p. 39).

From such preliminary remarks on compensatory programs

and intelligence, Jensen moves to a consideration of IQ and intelligence, which he defines, admittedly inadequately, as the capacity for abstract reasoning and problem solving (p. 18). Intelligence tests, largely based on the Binet tests of 1900 Paris schools, were developed to predict school performance, and have become the means of measuring intelligence. Such tests purport to measure g, or general intelligence, the factor common to all tests of complex problem solving, and in fact defined by those tests having it in common.

As Jensen points out, intelligence or IQ is therefore not synonymous with mental ability, which is the totality of an individual's mental capabilities. The particular constellation of abilities we now call intelligence, and measure by means of intelligence tests, has been singled out from the total galaxy of mental abilities as being especially important in our society mainly because of our traditional system of formal education and the occupational structure with which it is coordinated (p. 19).

Since IQ scores approximate the Gaussian normal distribution within the 70-130 range (with slight but significant departures outside this), Jensen concludes that IQ behaves like an interval scale. From this he deduces that since IQ scores are normally distributed throughout the population, intelligence is also (pp. 20-27). The genotypic basis of intelligence is fixed, but the phenotype, the intelligence which tests measure, is not, as it is the result of all the genetic, physical, and social influences throughout the organism's development. The phenotype is variable early in life, and becomes increasingly stable through childhood. Jensen gives a stability formula for IQ based upon the test-retest reliability of the test and chronological age at the time of tests one and two, which holds until a chronological age of ten.

Citing studies of selective breeding of maze-bright and maze-dull rats, studies of Turner's Syndrome, and theories holding intelligence to be dependent on the structural and bio-chemical properties of the brain, Jensen moves to his central

point, the heritability of intelligence. From a formula intended to account for the total variance of intelligence in the population, including genetic, environmental and error factors, Jensen derives heritability, H (the proportion of phenotype variance due to variance in genotypes) as:

$$H = \frac{(Vg + Vam) + Vd + Vj}{Vp - Ve} \qquad \text{(p. 42)}$$

Vg = genetic or additive variance
Vam = variance due to assortive mating (= 0 under random mating)
Vd = dominance deviation mating
Vi = epistatis (interaction among genes at two or more loci)
Vp = phenotype variance in population
Ve = error of measurement.

In support of his formula, Jensen cites obtained values from kinship studies, which were remarkably close to the theoretical values derived from the formula. Using studies comparing kin raised together and apart, Jensen concludes that H = .77, which takes into account the unreliability of the tests and population sampled, and the sampling error (p. 50-51).

In support of the formulation Jensen also cites studies of identical twins reared apart, and of adopted children. Jensen lays particular stress on results from twin studies showing a lower heritability of scholastic achievement than for intelligence. He feels this implies that non-cognitive traits, habits, attitudes, and values are largely environmentally determined and more susceptible to improvement than intelligence.

Jensen concludes that the environment can only have a threshold effect upon intelligence, below which severe deprivation can depress intelligence. Jensen precludes cultural disadvantages as not constituting sufficient deprivation, and claims that the severely deprived will usually show rapid improvement when placed in a normal environment, while the culturally deprived will not. Jensen does feel, however, that

physiological and biological environmental factors, especially pre-natal and nutritional influences, can have a significant effect and deserve further study.

Assuming, then, that intelligence is a genetic trait, assortive mating would cause social classes to differ in intelligence. This, and not environmental factors, explains SES sources of variance in intelligence. The same argument applies to racial differences in intelligence: any groups which have been geographically or socially isolated from one another for many generations are practically certain to differ in their gene pools, and consequently are likely to show differences in any phenotype characteristic having high heritability. Such genetic differences, Jensen concludes, is the source of the one standard deviation, 15 point difference in black and white IQ.

For these reasons, Jensen questions the sense of programs designed to raise intelligence, and feels that efforts should be redirected towards the teaching of basic skills, rather than trying to boost g and overall cognitive development. Results should be measured by tests of those basic and specific skills instead of by IQ tests.

Along these lines, Jensen presents a two-dimensional model of intelligence he finds useful in analyzing SES and ethnic differences in intelligence. Level I intelligence involves neural registration and consolidation of stimulus inputs and the formations of associations. Level II involves self-initiated elaboration and transformation of the stimulus input before an overt response - abstract problem solving and conceptual learning. Jensen cites findings that lower class children do as well as middle class children on tests measuring Level I, but not Level II skills. He sees Level I as necessary but not sufficient for Level II development, and as evenly distributed across social classes, while Level II is differentially distributed due to differential distribution of the neural structures needed for Level II, and its importance for scholastic performance under traditional methods of instruction.

Jensen maintains that all basic school skills can be learned by children with Level 1 ability, and urges educational research along such lines.

Finally, Jensen admits that some small-scale experiments focusing on the cultural and cognitive needs of the disadvantaged were more successful than massive programs, but questions results showing an increase in IQ. Apparent gains may have been the result of more optimal conditions on the retests, and some control groups also showed a gain.

Jensen's work was immediately and sharply criticized on several points. The following section reviews both criticisms and defenses of specific points from responses published in the Harvard Educational Review and the Review of Educational Research. The review also includes materials from several other sources, which did not directly address Jensen's theorem, but contained theory or findings relevant to the issues at hand. Source and pagination is HER unless otherwise noted.

Many critics claimed that Jensen had been highly selective in the literature he cited, and had ignored or glossed over several studies giving strong evidence for environmental influences on IQ. Kagan cites studies of lower class mother-child interaction, and Hunt of child-rearing practices. Hunt also points to studies showing that informational interaction is as biological and important for the development of the brain as nutrition or genetic constitution. He also cites experiments hastening the sensory-motor development of children as providing strong evidence for the plasticity of child development. Brazziel criticizes Jensen for ignoring research which showed that the pre- and post-natal ravages of protein malnutrition accounted for 42% of the mental retardation and other differences found in low-low income black children. Anastasi's (1963:84) discussion of misconceptions of genetic-environmental interactions seems to underscore both Hunt's and Brazziel's points: (1) all that is present at birth is not hereditary, since the pre-natal environment may influence the basic structural and behavioral characteristics of the

organism; and (2) that it is incorrect to assume that conditions of hereditary origin are unchangeable or irremediable in the individual organism.

Deutsch points to several studies, especially Pasamanick and Knobloch,which interpret IQ differences in environmental terms, while Stinchcombe states that Jensen's interpretation can only be the result of a systematic naivete about how the environment works and a failure to consider the cumulative effect of the environment (p. 511).

Jensen is further criticized for neglecting test situation factors. Kagan summarizes a study in which the scores of urban black children did not significantly differ from middle class norms when they were given extensive rapport sessions with the examiner to ensure that they were relaxed and well understood the nature of the test questions. Brazziel also feels that white examiner/black subject interactions cannot be neglected. Both Brazziel and Deutsch criticize Jensen's heavy reliance on the Coleman Report to indicate that situational and environmental factors are not of essential importance in school performance. They point out that the Coleman Report has been severely criticized for methodological inadequacies.

Jensen replies by challenging the notion that gains in IQ scores are due to situational and environmental effects and not inheritance. He labels this Bloom's Fallacy, claiming that while it fits Bloom's correlational data, it can not account for other relevant data, such as the fact that mental test scores are predictable from knowledge of the parents IQ. Jensen dismisses arguments of the cumulative effect of the environment by repeating his assertion that severely deprived children usually rapidly catch up when placed in a normal environment, while the culturally disadvantaged to not. Jensen feels that genetic factors laid down at conception are increasingly realized in the individual's performance as he approaches the asymptote of that performance, in this case, ability on mental tests (pp. 461-62).

Anastasi (1963:211ff) makes several points pertinent to these questions. First, in her discussion of training, defined as any activity or series of experiences designed to improve performance,she states that Studies with a variety of intelligence tests indicate that significant mean gains in scores may be obtained through repetition of either the identical or a parallel form of the test, through coaching on identical or similar material, or through general test sophistication. In the evaluation of all such effects, a major consideration is breadth of influence, or degree to which the improvement extends beyond the immediate test situation.

Anastasi further points out that among adults the amount of education correlates highly with intelligence test scores. Follow-up studies suggest that at least part of this correlation may be attributed to the direct effect of education upon testing abilities. Such factors could also account for the predictability of children's IQ's from those of their parents, and would seem to argue against Jensen's contention that only genetic explanations can account for such data.

Finally, Anastasi also points to an alternative explanation of the asymptotic stability of IQ scores: An important factor in the increasing stability of test scores with age is the cumulative nature of behavior development and the consequent overlap of test scores. There is evidence that the constancy of the IQ results from such overlap rather than from regularities of behavior development, since gains are uncorrelated with prior scores. Such evidence would seem to weigh in favor of Stinchcombe's point against Jensen's defense.

Cronbach also feels that Jensen was misleading in his use of sources, particularly in concluding that studies had shown that maze learning ability could be bred, while Anastasi, interpreting the same data, emphasizes that the superiority of the selected stock was not due to superior learning ability (p. 344).

Jensen replies that he felt he had said essentially the same thing, except that the molar behavior of speed of learning

can be selectively bred. He further states that in the study he cited rats were bred for maze-learning ability that generalized across twenty-four mazes, while Cronbach cited an earlier study which cannot be considered an adequate account of the subject.

Jensen's concept of intelligence also comes under attack. Deutsch points out that the g theory of intelligence is only one among many, and that if g, about which there is considerable debate, is questioned, Jensen's entire chain of reasoning becomes dubious. Hunt proposes an information interaction model to oppose Jensen's static growth function, and Stinchcombe claims that two main causal forces determine the mean level and variations of the cognitive functioning of a man - his capacity to abstract (his IQ) and his socially and psychologically induced inclination to abstract, which is determined by relationships to others in the environment. Cronbach adds that capability is not at issue when a child does not call upon an ability he possesses. All would argue that the black environment offers less informational interaction or induces progressively less inclination to abstract along the lines measured by IQ tests, which results in depressed IQ scores.

In reply, Jensen maintains that it is the appropriate calling up, integration, and transfer of various subskills that constitute what we mean by intellectual capability (p. 471). However, in their discussion of "The Study of Competence In Cognitive Psychology," Mehler and Bever (1968:275) emphasize the importance of a dynamic theory of acquisition, and conclude that while inferences about competence can be drawn from successful performances, one cannot infer underlying incompetence from failure to perform.

Deutsch finds Jensen's interchanging of intelligence and IQ, between which there is no built-in correlation, another serious error. Deutsch moreover contends that IQ measures what is learned (not how well it is taught), is static and culture bound, and is increasingly irrelevant for understanding the nature and development of intellectual behavior in a society

subject to increasing social change.

Jensen counter-argues that the two are interchangeable if the following non-circular argument is accepted: (1) postulate that intelligence is normally distributed in the population; (2) devise an intelligence test which yields a normal distribution of scores - the test scores then constitute an interval scale; (3) if, with these two assumptions one can make quantitative predictions of some independent phenomena (e.g., predict IQ scores for varying degrees of kinship), then the assumption of the existence of an interval scale was correct.

Anastasi's (1963:54) viewpoint would, however, seem to argue against Jensen's assumption of an interval scale. She states that absolute statements regarding the extent of variability are meaningless for several reasons, chief among which are lack of comparable units and of absolute zero points in psychological scales. For practical purposes the extent of individual differences within specific groups in concretely defined characteristics can be reported in terms of a given frame of reference such as the range of ability within a schoolroom in terms of age or grade norms. But general statements about the range of human variability in different traits cannot be meaningfully made.

While many of Jensen's critics agree that there is a genetic influence on intelligence (e.g., Hunt,Crow, Cronbach), Crow points out that the magnitude and direction of intelligence differences would not be predictable from Jensen's model, while Cronbach argues that comparison of the differences in the genetic constitutions of various races are meaningless except in terms of the probability that the member of a group will be able to cope in some specific way with some specific challenge, after he has developed for a specified period in some specified environment....There are environments in which he will develop well and others in which he will develop poorly....Furthermore, environments can be varied along many dimensions, and the optimum with respect to each dimension depends on the person's phenotype at a given time.

Anastasi's (1963) extensive discussion of the dangers of class and culture comparisons seems to underscore Cronbach's point.

> ...intellectual differences between social classes and between regions are specific to the functions tested. Each sub-culture fosters the development of its own characteristic pattern of aptitudes and personality traits. Tests constructed within one sub-culture thus tend to favor individuals reared in that sub-culture, no one test measures intelligence or personality adjustment in the abstract, but each must be interpreted in terms of the criteria against which it was validated. (p. 535)

And again:

> ...groups differ in special ways. They cannot be arranged in a hierarchy with respect to general intelligence or overall personality adjustment. Each culture tends to select and foster certain abilities and certain ways of behaving. Any test developed within a particular culture reflects such a selection and tends to favor individuals reared in that culture. (pp. 569-70)

Deutsch asserts that from a review of the literature, genetics must be seen as an interacting determinant, rather than a separate causal agent. Anastasi (1963:68) came to the same conclusion from her earlier review. This leads Deutsch to contend that a proper approach to the subject would then demand study of the relevant environmental variables, the study of varying populations with these environmental factors controlled, and only then could genetic contributions be isolated and identified. Jensen, who did not follow such procedures, cannot, therefore, attribute racial differences in IQ to genetic factors.

Several critics also point to Jensen's generalizations from studies of relations to racial differences as another severe weakness in his work. Kagan contends Jensen committed a major fallacy in his inappropriate generalization from within family IQ differences to an argument that separate gene pools are necessarily different and his conclusion that IQ differences are genetically determined. Stinchcombe holds that in order to generalize across endogamoud groups (e.g., races), one must

first determine whether there is greater environmental difference between Negro and white families than between kin. Since there is greater variation between families of different races, the variance in environmental factors increases, and the relative genetic role decreases, which of course, completely contradicts the Jensen position. Crow adds that the twin and familial studies were of too limited a sample size to assume that they were representative of the population, and Deutsch contends that since these studies didn't include blacks, the results cannot be generalized to them.

Jensen replies that he did not attempt to generalize, but merely to suggest as a hypothesis that racial differences in mental abilities involve genetic as well as environmental and cultural factors (p. 461).

Jensen's treatment of social class-race interactions is also in error, according to his critics. Deutsch says Jensen equates social class across racial lines as if the black middle class experience were identical with white middle class experience. Due to caste differences it takes two or three generations for such outcomes to be realized. Stinchcombe claims that Jensen doesn't account for black underrepresentation in the middle class, which results in a lower mean class position. Both Stinchcombe and Anastasi (1968:569-70) point to the importance of the regression effect when matched samples are selected from dissimilar populations. In this case, Jensen's equation of parental status and environment results in serious errors of measurement. Deutsch also criticizes Jensen's comparison of blacks and American Indians (who score closer to the white norms) for similar reasons: it ignores significant qualitative differences in environment.

Deutsch points to another weakness, one of inconsistency, in Jensen's explanation of the 15 point racial differential. Deutsch claims that Jensen more than accounts for the difference himself by the eight to ten points he attributes to test situation, the few points gained in compensatory education programs, and the five points attributable to poor environment,

which obliterate all significant statistical differences.

The figures and formulae given by Jensen for the heritability of intelligence are also closely contested. In addition to the methodological criticisms mentioned earlier, Crow contends that Jensen's heritability formula could contain an unknown environmental factor, and as it stands cannot predict the effect of environmental improvement.

Jensen argues (counter) that although widespread improvement might raise the mean level of the population on a trait, it would not necessarily affect the differences between individuals. Improving the environment for the development of a trait, he contends, usually increases the phenotype manifestations of genotype differences, and...it increases the heritability of the trait (p. 466). Anastasi (1963:211) supports this contention:

> To the question do individual differences increase or decrease with practice? there are different possible answers depending upon the formulation of the problem....When the question is formulated so as best to meet both theoretical and practical demands, individual differences usually increase with practice. Persons tend to maintain the same relative standing through training.

The reviewer might here venture to remark that both Anastasi and Jensen are referring to widespread, general, or equal improvements, and their comments seem less applicable to programs designed and administered to meet the needs and experiences of sub-groups.

Jensen further states that though certain environmental conditions are important for the development of phenotypes, heritability studies show that such conditions account for only about 20% of the variance among individuals. On a related point, Jensen maintains that criticisms based on analogies with the overall increase in height in the population must distinguish between growth rate and final adult height. Growth rate, largely environmentally determined, but also influenced by genetic factors, has shown greater increases than final adult height. The small increases in the latter can be almost entirely accounted for by genetic factors, such as the

outbreeding effect.

Fehr, however, feels that environmental and hereditary influences are confused in Jensen's estimation of H., and suggests several ways to separate the two more clearly. Fehr contends that the differences in IQ between mono- and dy-zygous (MZ and DZ) twins raised together can be accounted for by environmental as well as hereditary factors. Anastasi's (1968:83;309-10) analysis supports this contention: an individual's environment includes all stimuli to which he responds. Hence the effective environments of two persons will differ, even if both persons are placed in identical surroundings. The environments of two siblings in the same home, for example, differ in many important ways. Identical twins who have been reared apart since infancy show differences in intelligence test performance which, in general, parallel the differences in their environment.

Fehr further criticizes Jensen for assuming that all twins raised apart had in common were their genes. Summarizing other studies and formulae for the estimation of heritability coefficients, Fehr obtains (1) an H value between 65 and 80%, (2) by another formula, an environmental factor of 59% in Binet IQ studies, or (3) analyzing the same data as Jensen with Fisher inter-class correlation coefficients substituted for unobtainable variances between separated siblings and twins, H = 52.8%. Fehr cites other studies to support his lower estimate, and concludes that when the effects of E variables are more adequately controlled, estimates of the importance of heritability in the determination of individual differences in intelligence and academic success are considerably less than suggested by Jensen (p. 578).

Writing in the Review of Educational Research, 1969, Light and Smith develop an entire case based on three alternative arguments against Jensen's postulated relationships between race and inherited intelligence.

1. Accept Professor Jensen's model, and his estimates of the model parameters, but show that non-genetic

disparities would still account for most or all of the 15 point IQ difference between the races.

Using Jensen's allocation of .75 and .25 for genetic and environmental factors respectively, and applying these to census data on the differential allocation of the races to socio-economic categores, Light and Smith find that more than half of the IQ difference can be explained by "differential allocation of the races to social conditions (p. 485)." Furthermore, only a 1% genetic-environmental interaction is necessary to account for a 15 point difference between the racial means when genetic distributions are assumed identical, (and evidence to this effect is cited). The authors develop a social allocation model to explain racial difference in IQ, the basis of which os non-random assignment of races to environments. According to this model Jensen's conclusions are invalid as they are based on equal SES, while SES scores "still imply restricted life chances for blacks (p. 488)." The authors conclude that because of differential allocation, .75% of the variance within each race may be due to genetic factors, but that the variance between the races can only be accounted for by environmental factors. Similar points, made by Deutsch and Stinchcombe, have already been cited.

2. Accept Professor Jensen's mathematical model as a satisfactory descriptive construct, but question his parameter estimates as being either unreliable or incorrect.

Light and Smith point out that Jensen indirectly estimated the interaction factor by Pg - Pe = Pi. This estimate, when analyzed with the aid of computer simulations, shows a standard error almost equal to the Pi component, given Jensen's sample size. They conclude that "the estimates of model parameters used by Jensen as the underpinning for his analysis have approximately the same reliability as if he had selected one sample of 100 twins." They also found the quality of Jensen's data, especially that on the monozygous twins and the covariance between heredity and environment, was as questionable as his parameter estimates. The "inconsistencies of the data..., together with the complete lack of any data at all on black

twins,...wrecks the credibility of even a tentative assertion of genetic differences in the interaction between races (p. 508)."

> 3. Reject Professor Jensen's model as inappropriate because of its failure to incorporate relationships which clearly exist among the variables in the real world as we know it (p. 485).

Since "determining the heritability of a characteristic in a single population not only depends upon a knowledge of its physical, biochemical and physiological basis, but also on an equally exact knowledge of its environmental contributions (p. 510)," and since Jensen doesn't account for the latter, his model should be rejected as it can't explain the relationships of the real world.

Light and Smith's work provoked a debate between themselves and William Shockley in the pages of the Review of Educational Research. Shockley defended the Jensen thesis and extended it to what he calls the "Caucasian Gene Effect," which his preliminary research suggests means that an increase "of 1% in Caucasian ancestry raises Negro IQ an average of one point for low IQ populations (p. 244)." Shockley sees many shortcomings in the Light and Smith work that result in misinterpretation and misrepresentation of their data.

First, Shockley argues that a social allocation model is not essential to explanation of the 15 point racial differential, and claims that Smith and Light could have obtained the same results from a "malicious coincidence of interaction and distribution..." caused by the "coincidence of the maliciously allocated cells with the cells having the maximum negative interaction.../_lowering_/the average Negro IQ from the 0% interaction value of 91.26 to the 1% interaction value of 86.1 (pp. 229-32)."

Secondly, the 15 point deficit accounted for by Light and Smith's quantitative methods is actually a mathematical artifact, resulting from their arbitrary selection of a 10 x 12 array for computation. Shockley shows that a 1000 x 1200 array could have produced a 50 point deficit.

Light and Smith respond to these two points by noting that

Shockley's "malicious coincidence theorem" was important to both sides of the argument, as it showed that "given one specific assignment of a population to genetic and environmental categories, the existence of interaction variance can result in the displacement of a population mean (p. 358)." They further contend that Shockley's obtained proportional displacement is an artifact of his "arbitrary choice of placing all members of a population into cells with a constant interaction value." They point out that Shockley did not attempt to fit this "simple, highly specific...and unrealistic pattern" to any empirical study, while in their work the interaction term varied. They feel that Shockley's own theorem supports their own work: "the fact that displacement of a population mean is possible under an infinite variety of interaction patterns is indeed an essential property of the general additive model...." Shockley seems to give no direct reply to these points in his response.

Shockley's third point criticized the IQ distribution of Light and Smith's hypothetical population as "in violent disagreement with actual data/_ Kennedy et. al._/both as to shape and as to variance," as not normally distributed, and as having a variance of 340, for larger than both their stated objective of $15^2 = 225$, and the Kennedy value of 160. Shockley concludes that the Light-Smith model is therefore inadequate (p. 246).

Light and Smith counter with several points. First, they contend that their model was an abstract illustration of a concept, which Shockley would unfairly force upon a single study of black IQ. Second, Shockley makes no use of the degrees of freedom available to fit the Kennedy data to their model. Third, the model uses a different SES distribution than the Kennedy study, the former using US census data and its twelve SES categories, while the latter sampled five southeastern states and used only five SES categories. Fourth, Shockley plotted the Light-Smith data incorrectly since he failed to consider within cell variance. And finally, that their

variance is 340 while Kennedy's is 160 illustrates, by Shockley's own malicious coincidence theorem, that there "is no reason to have an artificially high variance using our malicious allocation model /_since_/ as long as genotype by environmental interaction exists...it is possible to account for a lower population mean IQ (such as the black mean of 85) without increasing the IQ variance from any initial empirical value (p. 358)."

Shockley returned to this point in his reply, pointing out that the variance of 340 was 151% higher than their stated target, and reminding them that they had criticized Jensen for a 12% discrepancy, (the sum of his variance contributions totalling 112%). Shockley adds that Light and Smith could not go beyond showing that "malicious interaction" was not the source of the excessive variance, because "the 340 value was caused by a high genetic-environment correlation, devoid of scientific sense, (and) introduced by their own invention - 'malicious allocation' - the same feature that led to my dysgenic prediction from their model (p. 371)." Shockley concludes that Light and Smith are "totally misleading in claiming to have a model consistent with accepted facts about population statistics and human behavior genetics that explained on a non-genetic basis a 15 point IQ deficit of the American Negro population (p. 370)."

Shockley's final criticism is that Light and Smith's unrealistically high correlation between genetic potential and social class would result in "most peculiar IQ distributions" within a given social class, with such small with-family variance that correlation coefficients for black siblings would imply a greater heritability among blacks and whites. If, as in the Light-Smith model, more than 85% of the three lowest genetic categories are found in the two lowest SES groups (which have higher birth rates), a "significant drop in genetic IQ would be expected to occur even in one generation."

Light and Smith respond that the correlation is not a consequence of the malicious allocation model, since any degree

of correlation could have been used. "What is essential to the malicious allocation model is the non-independence (non-random allocation) of genetic and environmental assignments for either or both races (p. 360)." The only conditions in which such malicious allocation of interaction effects would not occur would be:

> a) when there are no interaction effects, b) when there are no main effects (additive genetic or environmental direct effects), and c) when allocations of genotypes and environments are independent...(and d) if independence exists, (in which case) there can be no displacement of a subgroup mean due to malicious allocation (p. 361).

In his second RER article, Shockley points to two other basic flaws he sees in the social allocation methodology. First, an "unreasonably high" correlation of 1.00 was introduced between SES and environmental contributions. Using a .3 figure obtained from a study by Burt, Shockley shows that Light and Smith's nine point lowering of the IQ difference should be reduced to 9 x .3 = 2.7. Secondly, he feels that Light and Smith used a social allocation inconsistent with the facts when they allocated all the children of a given SES to the same genetic column in their model. If, as some studies show, 50% of the total population variance occurs between siblings reared together, this between-sibling variance would be in one cell with all the children of one SES in one genetic column, taking the variance away from somewhere else. "If the between sibling variance is included in the cell, then a column does not have the defined genetic potential demanded by the methodology (p. 373)."

Light and Smith's conclusion to their second article, which notes the difficulties of measurement in such studies, seems to provide an apt conclusion to their debate with Shockley. Light and Smith state that traditional additive models of variance components are unsatisfactory, as they allow an infinite number of genetic-non-genetic partitions "to suit any investigator's whim or predispositions." Though no special feature of their model can:

> explain away a real genetic difference...(until) researchers can measure genotype by environment interactions, the question of genetic differences between races cannot be resolved by analysis of variance procedures....The statistical tools currently used in this kind of research simply will not enable us to resolve the question. A model which can discriminate between genetic and allocative effects is needed (pp. 362-63).

The educational and social implications of Jensen's genetic explanation have also occasioned a vigorous debate. Kagan opined that compensatory programs had not yet been adequately evaluated, and shouldn't be so summarily dismissed by Jensen. Hunt maintained that in fact specific programs had succeeded to some degree, proving that IQ and achievement can be boosted by "deliberately altering the ecological niche of infants and young children." Deutsch cites evidence that "continuous and carefully planned intervention procedures can have substantial positive influence." In his reply, Jensen counters that such innovations and improvements in the field are likely to help the advantaged as well as the disadvantaged, leaving little decrease in the relative differences between individuals. Here again, however, it is difficult to see how this remark applies to programs specifically designed for and administered to the "disadvantaged."

Most of the critics agree with Jensen's call for more differentiated and individualized instruction, and more flexible means of evaluating the social and employment potential of people. His specific proposal for Level I and Level II teaching is, however, severely criticized as oversimplified. Deutsch and Cronbach contend that there are many more than two learning styles, and Brazziel adds that intensive instruction, not "cultural enrichment" or Level I teaching is necessary, and can result in greater realization of learning potential (which IQ does not reflect).

Jensen defends his Level I and II concepts as neither narrow nor oversimplified, since they represent two types of abilities, associative and cognitive, which emerge from factor

analyses of intelligence tests. The reviewer might point out here that this might simply mean that the design of intelligence tests is narrow and oversimplified. Anastasi (1970) reports that studies of practice pattern effects have revealed progressive and systematic changes in factor loadings with practice.

Perhaps the most controversial implication of Jensen's theorem of the heritability of intelligence is the development of a meritocratic caste system based upon inherited intelligence, with blacks doomed to the bottom strata because of assumed genetic deficits in intelligence and dysgenic trends. Authors on both sides of the argument deduce this from Jensen's work, but vary greatly in their reactions.

In his first article, Jensen, pointing to studies showing high correlations between the IQ's of mothers and their offspring, suggested that current welfare policies, "unaided by eugenic foresight, could lead to the genetic enslavement of a substantial portion of our population." Hunt feels that dysgenic trends have existed in segments of the population since the 1930's, and in his reply Jensen argued that Hunt must then admit the existence of heritable behavioral differences among segments due to historical, social, and environmental selection pressures. Jensen called for an attempt to understand such genetic trends, and for development of social and public policies to counteract any dysgenic trends discovered. It is never clear what "eugenic foresight" or "social and public policies" might be called for.

Shockley, indiscussing his "Caucasian Gene Effect" is more blunt:

> If those Negroes with the fewest Caucasian genes are in fact the most prolific and also the least intelligent, then genetic enslavement will be the destiny of their next generation. /_Therefore_/ all attempts to demonstrate that American Negro shortcomings are predominantly hereditary is the action most likely to reduce Negro apathy in the future (p. 245).

Bereiter sees a meritocratic caste system, based on the natural consequences of inherited differences in intelligence,

as developing from two processes. First, rapidly increasing technological advances will make intelligence increasingly important; second, attempts to alleviate environmentally caused deficits will, ironically, only increase the genetic determination of intelligence, conceivably to 100%, thus amplifying, rather than equalizing, differences.

Deutsch similarly contends that Jensen's assertion that neural structures are different for Level I and II capabilities,

> hypothesizes high positive correlations among social class, intelligence, and neural factors. The social implications of this are enormous, obvious, and totally antidemocratic, and would tend to create a permanent caste society in which those of lower caste (mostly black) would be forever doomed by their hypothesized neural structures, to remain in an inferior position...(p. 541).

In the interests of scientific integrity and public responsibility, Deutsch calls upon Jensen to publicly reevaluate his stance.

It can be seen that while there is general agreement on the caste implications of Jensen's genetic theorem of intelligence, reactions seem to vary with ideology. The scientific, and, hopefully, policy importance of these implications rest, of course, upon evaluation of Jensen's work. A further review of the literature on Afro-American intelligence and IQ will put Jensen's theory in better perspective, and lay the foundation for clearer evaluation of the subject.

B. Cross-cultural and Linguistic Studies

In the previous section, comments by Cronbach, Deutsch, and Anastasi, among others, pointed to the cultural and environmental specificity of intelligence tests, and warned against the dangers and limitations in drawing conclusions about the comparative capabilities of various groups on the basis of such tests. In a remark along similar lines, Anastasi (1963:569-70) states:

> The fact that racial groups also differ in culture complicates the interpretation of observed race

> differences in intellectual or personality traits. Among the cultural factors that may affect performance on psychological tests are included traditions and customs, relative emphasis placed upon speed in different cultures, motivation to excel on the sort of tasks sampled by intelligence tests, and social expectancy....Each culture tends to select and foster certain abilities and certain ways of behaving. Any test developed within a particular culture reflects such a selection and tends to favor individuals reared in that culture.

Such comments, in effect, raise the question of the culture fairness of intelligence tests, and open a possible alternative explanation, other than the genetic or environmental, for the 15 point racial differential. As discussed in the introduction to this review, such an explanation would argue that the 15 point differential reflects the culture bias of the tests, and not actual differences in the distribution of intelligence in the population.

Several studies investigating cross-cultural differences in test performance, perceptual skills and approaches to problem solving have been reported in the literature, and some will be reviewed here.

Berry (1966) designed a study to demonstrate a relationship between the

> cultural and ecological characteristics of a society and the perceptual skills developed by members of that society. The hypothesis guiding the study was that differences in visual perceptual skills would exist between societies with differing ecological and cultural characteristics, and that these perceptual differences...might be predicted from an analysis of the ecological requirements and cultural practices of each group (pp. 207-08).

Berry chose the Temne of Sierra Leone and the Eskimos of Baffin Island for his samples, and a reference group of Scots to relate the cross-cultural data to Western psychological findings. "Traditional" and "Transitional" samples were selected from each group to control for the argument that race might account for any differences. From his analysis of their ecological and cultural differences, Berry felt that the Eskimos, who rely upon hunting, had to develop the ability to

isolate "slight variation in visual stimulation from a relatively featureless array" and to organize these minute details into a spatial awareness. The agricultural Temne would neither need nor show such an ability. From this analysis Berry formulated the following hypotheses:

1) On discrimination skill: "In a test for closure, despite equivalent acuity, the Eskimo will be more aware of small detail than the Temne, and hence less ready to closure."

2) On spatial skill:

> A. The Eskimo will score significantly higher than the Temne for comparable degrees of Westernization.
> B. Furthermore, the Eskimo scores will more closely approximate the Scottish scores than the scores of the Temne samples of equivalent Westernization.
> C. As a result of contact with Western peoples and institutions,...the transitional samples will score higher than the respective traditional samples.
> D. Within the six samples, these scores will be significantly related to the level of education.
> E. Within each sample, those rating themselves as more severely disciplined will score lower than those less severely disciplined (p. 215).

All but the last hypothesis were confirmed, and analysis of sex differences suggested that "in societies where women assume a dependent role, they will have more field-dependent perceptual characteristics than the men...but where women are allowed independence sex differences will disappear (p. 228)."

Berry concludes that his guiding hypothesis is confirmed, and that theories based upon genetic explanations of differences are not acceptable. He states that 'culture-free' tests are unattainable since if "peoples with differing cultures and ecologies tend to develop and maintain different sets of skills, then the concept of intelligence, or its equivalent, is bound to be defined somewhat differently in each society (pp. 228-9)."

Hudson's (1960) study of three-dimensional perception among sub-cultural groups in Southern Africa also found that cultural influences were the primary determinants. Hudson points out that three-dimensional perception of a pictorial representation depends upon such cues as object size, object superimposition, and perspective, cues familiar in Western culture,

but not necessarily valid across cultures. Hudson presented eleven drawings and one photograph, constructed to isolate the above cues, to eleven samples of subjects which were either school attending or non-school attending. The latter group were largely mine laborers and included no children, and consisted of four black and one white samples. Except for one group of teachers, the school attending group were children and contained three black and one white samples.

The results showed that "School going samples saw predominantly three-dimensionally, the others almost entirely two-dimensionally both in outline drawings and on a photograph.... The school going samples perceived 3 dimensions in a photograph more readily than in an outline drawing." Intelligence and educational level were factors only among white school going samples. Hudson concludes

> formal schooling and informal training combined to supply an exposure threshold necessary for the development of the process. Cultural isolation was effective in preventing or retarding the process, even in candidates possessing formal education of an advanced level. An intelligence threshold existed also for the process, but its development with candidates of average or higher intellectual development depended upon exposure to the specific experience and probably upon cultural characteristics which in Africa might have genetic perceptual determinants (p. 208).

Irvine (1969a and 1969b) has based two articles upon results obtained from various samples of East and Central African students, tested under comparable conditions in English with a common core of tests. In his first report, a factor analysis of the results showed that skills relying heavily upon drill and repetition such as spelling and computation are factorially stable and orthogonal to their respective verbal and numerical axes, among students. Tests with high "g" loadings (verbal and numerical skills taught in school) are also reasonably stable, but there is some evidence that their loadings may fluctuate with the homogeneity of tests and samples. Perceptual factors were not well enough represented in the battery of tests to permit analysis. There is

also evidence that certain educational skills tend to be male associated, which Irvine feels results from pressures upon the males to be socially mobile and complementary pressures upon females to maintain the traditional culture.

> Irvine contends that the (1969a) African results tend to underline the relativity of human experience, and absolute theoretical constructs may require modification of psychological advances are to be made....The great variations in African languages, cultural traditions, and social relationships are obviously not relevant to learning educational skills in a foreign language....Cognitive tests such as those used in the surveys have not begun to tap modes of thought that are the product of African languages and social relationships (p. 27).

Irvine concludes that abilities should be conceived of "as constructs or 'reciprocal interactions' closely related to their cultural context." Thus intelligence consists of mental development which diverges according to processes of encoding language, ecological differences in environmental adaptation, and value systems.

Irvine's (1969b) study used factor analysis and regression analysis to judge the effectiveness of the Raven Progressive Matrices as a culture-free cross-cultural test. The Raven 38 was selected for analysis because it had not shown four features common to culture biased tests: 1) high verbal content, 2) high correlations between high income groups and high scores, 3) higher mean scores for samples from the culture on which the test had been standardized, than for equivalent samples from other cultures, and 4) dependence on more specialized than "general" abilities.

Irvine's statistical analysis showed that a set of standard procedures was needed for cross-cultural experimentation, that item difficulties change from culture to culture due to environmental differences, and that test scores approach Western patterns "as individuals become more acculturated and as groups adopt Western value systems." The analysis also showed that figural context appears to be a major source of variation.

> There are also unique sources of variance for each cultural group and differences in individual strategies (that may be common in all culture groups), confirmed experimentally and introspectively. The dimensions of bias have been broadened by these results to include perceptual, strategic, and formal reasoning axes....Perception, learning and reasoning are never a-cultural processes. Rather they are best conceived within a distinct cultural frame; and their relationships as constructs are determined by learned skills whose emphases are controlled by the value systems of the societies in which they originate (p. 226).

Irvine concludes by stating that culture-fair and culture-reduced tests are in error in assuming that they are based on invariantly hereditary skills and less affected by environmental variations than others. Such skills are relative and part of the learning process within a cultural context.

Bernardoni (1964) administered tests to cultures having exaggerated character traits, the Ugh, No and Oo-La-La, based on the assumption that "any concept of intelligence must include the cultural context in which it operates." The results indicated that:

> 1. A test can be fair for more than one culture only if the cultural values underlying the behavior to be tested are identical. As values become more dissimilar, it becomes necessary to redefine intelligence and test different forms of behavior, 2.... Educators who define intelligence rigidly on the basis of their own cultural values and expect intelligence test scores to correlate highly with the academic achievement of bicultural students will be better pleased with a test that is culturally 'unfair.' 3. It is unrealistic to expect an intelligence test magically to be 'fair' to all cultures and accurately predict behavior for those cultures when the values affecting the definition of intelligent behavior vary drastically (p. 559).

The inescapable conclusions from cross-cultural research, as represented above, is that it is difficult if not impossible to develop a standard "culture fair" test, and that theoretical constructs, such as g must be limited to discussion of formal schooling effects, and that intelligence must be defined within cultural contexts. Tests currently in use are definitely culture biased.

Much work has also been done upon the effects of different linguistic styles and interaction patterns on school performance. Much of this research is rooted in the descriptive theoretical work of Basil Bernstein. Citing numerous studies of the relationship between environment and language, Bernstein (1963) hypothesizes that there exist "measurable interstatus linguistic differences between lower working-class and middle-class children due to different modes of speech typical of the strata." Looking at British socioeconomic classes, Bernstein describes the differences between the "formal" language of the middle class and the "public" language of the lower classes. He compares the "theoretical attitude" of the middle class towards sentence organization, and its use to clarify and make explicit meanings, its individualized flexibility, selection and permutation, with the rigid syntax, limited use of structural possibilities, and highly predictable patterns for any given individual of the lower class; the individually differentiated orientation to certain values, expression and communication of differences, interest in relationships and cognitive and affective discrimination of the formal to the nonverbal expressive symbolism, maximizing affective inclusiveness and restricting verbally conditioned emotional and cognitive differentiation, the short, grammatically simple, syntactically poor communication of the public, which impedes communication of ideas requiring precise formulation. Bernstein sees the middle class as able to use formal or public styles according to social context, while the lower class is restricted to use of the public. The consequence is that middle class children have no difficulty in the school environment, while lower class styles lead to low levels of conceptualization, breakdowns of pupil-teacher relationships, lack of understanding and inability to build upon concepts. Bernstein feels that this leads to "Gestalt" middle class learning capabilities, as opposed to associative learning methods among the lower class, a striking parallel to Jensen's Levels I and II. Bernstein concludes that the alleviation of this dichotomy is

possible either through modification of the social structure or direct operation on speech differences. As the latter is more accessible to manipulation, he opts for that alternative.

John and Goldstein (1964) echo Bernstein's analysis, but focus on the interaction patterns that affect language acquisition. The authors feel that the crucial difference between the classes is not so much their different knowledge of words, but the flexibility of their use, which is perhaps a direct result of the occupational and educational experiences of the individual. Most important is the corrective feedback middle class children receive from adults in that interaction, "...thus the child's acquisition of words with shifting and complex referents will be impeded if the required adult-child verbal interaction is insufficient or lacking (p. 271)." Such interaction is also important for the acquisition of categories and the attendant "breadth of generalization of precision of discrimination." The authors conclude by emphasizing that preschool programs must stress the quality of interaction, especially erecting contexts which build on significant experiences, rather than stressing the quantity of words or associations.

In a study designed to explore various "dimensions of mother-child interactions that may be associated with the child's cognitive development (p. 727)," Bee et. al. test many of the concepts posited above. Using thirty-seven males and thirty-nine females from lower classes, and twenty-two boys and fourteen girls from the middle class, Bee et. al. administered a two part experiment: 1) a waiting room interaction between mother and child with observations on verbalization and attention, and 2) a problem solving situation in which mother-child verbalization and suggestions on a toy arrangement and housebuilding problem were observed.

The experimenters found middle-class mothers to be "less controlling, less disapproving," and gave more information and attention to children in the waiting room. In the problem solving situation, the middle-class pairs spent more time on

the problems, and the mothers' suggestions were more numerous, less specific, and more positive; they also used more words, longer sentences with greater syntactical complexity, a higher adjective-adverb quotient, and a lower percentage of personal pronouns than lower class mothers.

Race also accounted for some of the differences in maternal behavior, rather than social class. Black mothers showed lower rates of positive feedback, question-suggestion interaction, and total interaction, and the black child's rate of information statements in the waiting room was also lower. No major sex differences were found.

The authors conclude that the impoverished language environment and ineffective teaching strategies to which the lower class child is subjected result in a lack of the problem-solving techniques and highly differentiated language structure needed for a "verbally mediated analysis of the environment."

Along similar lines, Hertzig et. al. (1968) studied the differences in performance styles and achievements in ethnically differentiated children. Criticizing other studies for contamination due to 1) unknown background factors, 2) the examiner-child relationship and 3) criteria for sample selection based on convenience and accessibility, but overlooking possible influences, the present study used 3 year olds who from infancy had participated in a longitudinal study of behavioral development. At age 3 the Stanford-Binet Form L was administered to the children (in Spanish to those Puerto Ricans with insufficient competence in English) and an independent observer recorded the child's behavior and verbalizations. This enabled the experimenters to "compare and contrast the responsiveness to cognitive demands in 3 year old children from Puerto Rican working-class families living in New York City with the responsiveness to identical demands in similarly aged native-born children whose parents are businessmen and professionals."

The experimenters found a greater proportion of work and verbal responses in the middle-class group, while Puerto Ricans responded according to the task demand, with greater work

responses for performance than verbal tasks. Middle-class children had more verbal spontaneous expressions than Puerto Ricans, and showed more competence and simple negation reactions in their verbal non-work responses, to which the Puerto Ricans tended to respond with substitutions. On non-verbal, non-work responses, middle-class children responded with simple negations, while Puerto Ricans showed passive unresponsiveness.

The authors also reported clinical observations of the test administrators, who found the middle-class children obedient, friendly, consistent, curious, creative, original, and willing and eager to perform, but termed the Puerto Ricans insufficiently task oriented and attentive for optimal performance.

The authors conclude that stylistic differences in response are characteristic of social groupings - not IQ or ordinality, which showed few significant differences - and hypothesize that middle-class families emphasize task orientation and completion, in play and parent-child interaction, while Puerto Ricans emphasize social interactions, rather than task completion, resulting in person rather than problem orientation. Language usage is also social and affective rather than task oriented.

Hertzig et. al. foresee these stylistic divergences as dooming the Puerto Rican children to school failure and underachievement. To alleviate this condition, either the style of Puerto Ricans could be modified, or judgments of the superiority or inferiority of the styles curtailed. The authors conclude: "differences in style will be reflected in superior and inferior learning, in accordance with the conditions of instruction and its consonance or dissonance with the cue system to which the organism is primarily responsive (p. 50)." They stress that modes of instruction and conditions of learning optimal for the children being taught should be used.

In sum, stylistic differences in language, parent-child and personal interaction, perception, and problem solving approaches all influence test performance and add to the difficulty of designing or interpreting "culture free" tests.

It should also be noted that recent studies in linguistic differences (reviewed elsewhere) have begun to examine styles and performances in terms of differences, rather than deficits (in sharp contrast to the Bernstein discussion) in an effort to understand cognitive and linguistic development in classes and cultures on their own terms. While both approaches would tend to support environmental or test-bias explanations of performance differentials, the "difference" approach, which will be discussed in further detail later, seems to offer a sounder and potentially more fruitful avenue of scientific study.

C. Tests of Culture and Class Fairness

A number of the studies selected for review have examined various intelligence tests, including the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT), the Full-Range Picture Vocabulary Test (FRPVT), the Bender-Gestalt (B-G), the Draw-a-Person (DAP) and Draw a Man (DAM), the Progressive Matrices (PM), and Colored Raven Progressive Matrices (CRPM), for culture fairness among Afro-Americans.

Coppinger and Ammons (1952), noting the class and culture bias of tests based on white norms, set out to evaluate the reliability and validity of the FRPVT as a measure of verbal comprehension ability and to develop norms for black children. Eighty Negro school children, grades 1-8, evenly divided between the sexes and urban/rural backgrounds were chosen by alphabetized rotation (to avoid sampling bias) from school records of New Orleans and Caddo Parishes categorized to represent the 1940 census percentages for father's occupation of Southern Negroes. After a practice session and friendly conversation with the white examiner to insure familiarity and rapport, the subjects were given the SV-V, the PV-A, and PV-B. The eighty-five items on each of the last two were presented on sixteen plates each containing four separate drawings of common activities, objects, scenes, etc. which the children were to identify.

The results showed no consistent difference in mean scores within age levels, and satisfactory age progression except for an inversion at eleven years old; a reliability of r = .96 with a standard error of one word (three months), and a validity of .84 and .81 (PV A and B respectively) with the SB-V. PV-A and PV-B item difficulties correlated with white norms .96 and .90 respectively. There were no sex or practice effects, but after age nine there was an increasing difference in urban and rural mean scores, which by age thirteen grew to an eleven word 2 1/2 year rural lag. Urban Negro scores nearly equaled the white norm. The authors conclude that the FR PVT is suitable for use with Negro children, and give Negro norms based on the sample.

Milgram and Ozer, however, in a study designed to test the reliability and validity of the PPVT on preschoolers, and its susceptibility to environmental impoverishments, found mean scores well below average, and even below the substandard SB scores for Negro preschoolers. Their sample had been two groups of Negro children from impoverished homes. Group A included sixty-five children, ages 4 1/2 - 6, who were given the SB form L-M once, and the experimental School Readiness Evaluation and the PVT-A twice during a six week Head Start program; Group B contained fifty-one children given the PPVT, SB, and the Auditory-Vocal Automatic and Association subtests of the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Ability at age 3 and again at age 4. Though other studies had shown better black performances on the PPVT, which they can't explain, the authors conclude that environmental impoverishment has more impact on the PPVT than the SB due to a) black cumulative deficiencies in storage and/or retrieval of verbal terms and b) an inefficiency in sustaining the correct mental set required by the multiple choice format of the PPVT. The reviewer might suggest that the conflicting findings of these two studies of the PVT leave its culture fairness in serious doubt.

Henderson et. al. (1968) designed a study to determine whether the Bender-Gestalt (B-G) is differentially effective

in predicting white and non-white arithmetic and reading achievement. They formulated three specific hypotheses: 1) non-white children will perform as effectively as whites on the B-G; 2) the B-G will prove as effective a predictor for white and non-white achievement; 3) the B-G will predict achievement more effectively than the WISC. The Henderson et. al. sample included 120 white and 84 non-white (95% black) low SES seven year olds randomly selected from the University of Oregon Medical School sample of the Collaborative Study on Cerebral Palsy and other Neurological and Sensory Disorders, etc. The subjects were administered seven WISC subtests, the B-G, the arithmetic and reading sections of the Wide Range Achievement Test (WRAT), and a neurological examination. Chi squares of significant differences, and productive-moment correlations to measure predictive functions were calculated, and intelligence controlled by partialling.

The authors found that hypothesis one must be rejected, since whites scored significantly better, and conclude that the B-G is not a culturally fair predictor. Though the B-G did predict achievement, as measured by high correlations for both whites and non-whites with the WRAT, non-white scores were significantly lower on both the WISC and B-G. Hypothesis three was also rejected, as WISC correlations with the WRAT were significantly higher, and when intelligence is partialled out, the B-G contributes little to predicting achievement. The authors conclude that a more heterogeneous sample is needed, and the abstractor finds no statement on whether the sample distinguished normal and abnormal populations.

Albott and Gunn (1971) compared performance by thirty-five disadvantaged first grade Negroes from deprived rural areas of Illinois against the norms to determine the culture-fairness of the B-G. The sample's twenty-one males and fourteen females (mean age 7 years 4 months) were individually given a battery of tests including the B-G, which was scored by the Kopitz method and analyzed by the z test. The authors found that performance differed significantly ($z = 7.86$; $p < -.001$) from

norms, and found sex-error interactions with males making more errors on four of six possible error types. The subjects had the most difficulty with sections 4, 7 and 8, and the authors propose diagnostic use of this finding in analyzing reading problems. The B-G thus is found to be culture biased in both studies, but questions must be raised as to the samples in both studies (normal vs. abnormal in the Henderson, rural in the Albott and Gunn).

Semler and Iscoe hypothesized that since PM tests require within-test learning involving cognitive processes and ostensibly free from heavy psychocultural loadings, racial performance differences would be less on the PM than on the WISC. WISC's were individually administered to 141 white and 134 Negro children, ages 5-9 and the PM given as a group test to 160 7-9 year olds (the 5 and 6 year olds being too young to handle group testing situations) in de facto segregated schools in Austin, Texas. Five WISC V and 4 WISC P subtests were used. White subjects were found to have higher WISC full scale IQ's at all ages, and higher PM scores at 7 years, but not at 8 and 9. Though WISC intercorrelation structures seemed similar for Negroes and whites, multivariate analysis revealed heterogeneous dispersions and mean vectors. Separate factor analyses showed low intercorrelations of the A subtest, which was practically a unitary factor for Negroes, but not whites. The authors feel that this results from the heavy emphasis on verbally retained knowledge from formal education on the A test. Verbal comprehension abilities were similar for both races. The PM intercorrelation matrices are highly similar for both races, supporting the hypothesis of greater culture fairness on the PM than WISC.

However, Higgins and Sivers, in a study of 789 pupils, 349 black and 440 white, and almost equally divided between boys and girls of ages 7, 8, and 9, from public schools serving the lowest SES areas of a northeastern city, found that the PM discriminated on the basis of race, with black

scores always lower than white. The subjects had been given the SB-L and then the CRPM, the scores from which were extrapolated to give a mental age range of 4.5 to 11.5 years. T test analyses of means and variances showed no significant differences between white SB and CRPM scores, but a significant difference for blacks on the two tests, forcing the authors to reject their hypothesis that there would be no social bias in the CRPM, and to conclude, on the contrary, that the CRPM measures a specific skill, not g, and that non-verbal items discriminate against blacks. The reviewer might again conclude that conflicting findings leave in doubt the culture fairness of the CRPM.

Datta (1967) was prompted by the availability of a national sample from Head Start to estimate the congruent validity of the DAP, and to evaluate its culture fairness by two psychometrically desirable criteria: a) a mean standard score near 100, and b) correlations with the PPVT and PSI of at least similar magnitude to validity coefficients typically reported for the DAP. Seventy-two Head Start Centers were chosen as representative of the 1966 full year programs in terms of geographical distribution and program length, and 12-15 students randomly selected from each center were administered the DAP, PPVT and PSI. Among the children ages 4-7 years the DAP/PPVT and DAP/PSI correlations compared favorably with validity coefficients previously reported for children from less deprived homes, but the congruent validity of the DAP was lower for younger children. Neither sex nor ethnic differences significantly affected DAP correlations, implying culture fairness by this criterion, but mean standard scores for both the PPVT and DAP were substantially lower than the norm. Thus, by the other criteria the culture fairness of the DAP, though **less affected by race** and sex than the PPVT, must be questioned.

The literature selected for review has shown another major area of research to be the study of variations in subtest performance with race, class, geographical location, sex, and

other factors, thus revealing with greater specificity test-environment interactions.

Caldwell and Smith (1968) sought to identify which specific kinds of tests Negroes scored poorly on, what variations were caused by age and geographical location, and sex, by administering six verbal and six performance subtests of the WISC to 420 blacks from nine urban public schools in five Southeastern states, during the 1950's. There were 84 subjects from each state consisting of six males and six females in each of seven age categories from 5.5 to 12.5 years old. They found few sex differences, and age was uninteresting except for the factor structure of the twelve subtests. Verbal IQ was higher than performance for all ages, sexes and geographical locations (save one), and the performance variance due to the last was greater than age or sex. The authors advised against the use of short forms of tests, as factor analysis showed over 1/2 the variance was not shared in common by the twelve subtests.

Burnes (1970) administered twelve WISC subtests to high and low SES black and white 8 year olds from a large parochial school district encompassing a Midwest metropolis in order to determine whether SES classes and/or races exhibit characteristic patterns of abilities on the subtests. There were twenty subjects in each condition except for high SES Negroes in which there were only eighteen. Even this number was obtained only after drawing from outside the area and lowering the high SES criteria. SES was determined by head of household's occupation. The results showed no significant differences between racial groups, but V-IQ, P-IQ and FS-IQ differences between the classes were significant at $p < -.01$. There were no interactions between race and SES, and SES subtests, and pattern configurations were similar for all groups, especially within SES. The author concludes that these results are consistent with other studies showing no significant racial difference when SES is controlled.

As part of a larger developmental study of learning and intelligence in white and Negro children, Iscoe and Pierce-Jones

(1964) made a comparative study of divergent thinking, in terms of both "ideational fluency" and "ideational flexibility" and the effect of age, age-race, and intelligence upon divergent thinking. All subjects were given the WISC and the Unusual Uses Test, in which they were shown four familiar objects, asked to identify them, and then give as many uses for the object as possible with no time limit. The authors found significant differences in divergent thinking at the 5% level as a function of race and age-race, with a tendency for young white and relatively older black children to show more fluency on the Unusual Uses Test. The black ideational fluency scores were significantly higher, but did not carry over to ideational flexibility, as measured by the number of categories of usage. Significant but low correlations were found between divergent thinking scores and Verbal, Performance and Full Scale IQ scores. Only information and vocabulary were significantly related for both groups, while similarities and picture completion were reliably related to divergent thinking for blacks, and digit span and block design subtests for white children only.

Vane et. al. (1966) studied whether subtest items would show significant differences between matched groups of a) Negro and white children, b) problem and non-problem children, and also asked if SB results of suburban white children stratified by SES would differ from the theoretical mean of 100, and if suburban Negro scores would compare differently with the Kennedy et. al. results for 1800 Southern Negroes. One hundred ten whites and one hundred ten blacks, ages 6-10, were chosen from a suburban New York school district as representative of 1960 Census percentages for urban fathers' occupations, and seventy-six problem children referred to a district psychological center, matched for age, sex, and SES, were administered the SB-LM. Performance on all SB subtests, except vocabulary, which showed significant differences for both racial and problem groups, were highly similar, implying that vocabulary, contrary to being one of the more reliable indicators

of intelligence, is more susceptible to cultural and psychological influences than other subtests. Results also suggested that many subtest items are incorrectly placed in terms of difficulty; this, combined with the variability shown by the different groups tested, lead the authors to support the Terman-Merrill contention that attaching diagnostic significance to "scatter" is unjustified. The authors also found that suburban white IQ has risen above the theoretical mean of 100, implying a strong environmental influence in areas of widespread cultural and educational enrichment. They do not, however, feel that this invalidates the SB or other measures of intellectual potential, provided that results are interpreted with an awareness of the child's environmental influences.

The review selection also reveals several studies attempting to establish black norms for various tests. Among them is the Kennedy and Linder Draw-a-Man test administered to 1800 Negroes from five Southeastern states, 360 from each state, 120 from each of three comparable counties in each state, and twenty in each grade, 1-6, chosen by stratified sampling to reflect the SES for Southeastern Negroes. Subjects were also given the California Achievement Test, the S-B LM, and the McGuire-White Social Class Index was filled out from school records. The DAM showed disappointing correlations with the SB using conventional scoring weights; using new weights a correlation of .67 was obtained, but accounted for only 50% of the SB variance. The conventional weights gave a mean IQ of 91.2, the new weights an 83.1 mean, which is closer to the SB mean of 80.7. The DAM was more dependent upon community size than the SB, perhaps reflecting urban art classes, but unlike the SB was independent of SES. Despite the low correlation with the SB, many IQ tests can claim no better, the authors concluded.

Another study by Kennedy et. al. on the same population sought to find out how much precision would be lost by using the Terman-Merrill Abbreviated Scale of the SB-LM, and from results showing a product-moment correlation of .99, a mean IQ

of 80.7 (s.d. 12.4) and little variation in grades 1-6, concluded that little precision is lot through the use of the T-M Abbreviated. They also point out, however, that "this low IQ in a homogeneous population is one explanation for the high correlation."

D'Angelo et. al. (1971) noting that the standardization of the Vane Kindergarten Test (VKT) included only 43 Negroes, ages 4 1/2 - 6 1/2 with no smaller age intervals differentiated, sought to standardize the test for Negroes by sex and age, and for children six months younger. The test was therefore given to 255 Negro Headstarters in New York City, 119 male, 117 female, ages 48-71 months. They found that full scale and subtest IQ's were highest for the youngest group (48-53 months) and decline an average of thirteen points or one standard deviation unit per year. Negro girls below 59 months scored higher on all subtests than boys of that age. The authors feel that although many studies have found a decline in IQ with age among blacks, here it is excessive, and therefore question the use of the VKT below age 54 months.

Goffeney et. al. (1971) studied the effectiveness of the Bayley Infant Scales in predicting correlations of eight month gross motor, fine motor and mental tests with WISC and Bender performance at age 7. At eight months subjects were given the 1961 revision of the BIS, and at 7 years given seven WISC subtests, omitting similarities, arithmetic, picture completion, object assembly, adding digit span, and the B-G. Though all BIS measures for the total population correlated significantly with all 7 year scores, no Negro male BIS scores approached significance as predictors of later performance.

Golden et. al. (1971), in a longitudinal study, retested the eighteen and twenty-four month samples again at three years, to see whether the same pattern of social class differentiation in cognitive development which emerged among white children also emerged at that age for blacks. Eighty-nine children from a) welfare, b) low-educational achievement and c) highly educated families were retested on the 1960 SB-LM,

and the PPVT was administered to the mothers in order to determine at what age the children's IQ began to correlate with the mothers'. Though the previous study reported no SES differences, this study revealed significant differences at age three. Children from middle income families obtained significantly higher SB IQ's than those from poor stable families, who in turn scored higher than those from fatherless welfare families, though this difference fell short of the 5% level. No results on correlations with mothers' IQ's are reported.

Katz (1968) administered the Lorne-Thorndike IQ Test to seventy-two lower class Negro males, grades 1, 3, and 5, to see if the addition of irrelevant cues increased task difficulty more for older and higher IQ children, as it does for adults. Though the findings showed that concept formation ability was associated both with IQ and chronological age, increasing the irrelevant cues showed no significant interaction with developmental level. It did, however, increase response latencies for older and higher IQ subjects, leading Katz to suggest possible developmental differences in information processing.

The next and final section reviews literature on IQ constancy and increase, related motivational, test-situational factors, and studies of specific programs and teaching methods.

Milgram (1971) reviews three alternative hypotheses on the IQ stability of disadvantaged children: 1) Cumulative deficit theorems would predict systematic declines in scores; 2) Motivation-familiarity positions would predict increments under practice, incentive and optimal conditions; or 3) Change might be unsystematic and unreflected in group means. In addition to the above hypotheses, Milgram's longitudinal study intended to analyze individual changes, and the relationship of IQ to test taking behavior as rated on cooperation, security, rapport, attention, etc.

Twenty-seven male and thirty-two female 3 year old Negroes from the D. C. Children's Bureau were tested in 1964 and then annually for the next five years. Due to missed sessions, data

were complete for only the fifty-nine included in the analysis. Subjects were given play materials, and then graduate students administered the SB-LM in all years, and the PPVT in all years save 1966. In addition, two subtests of the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Ability, the Auditory-Vocal Association, and the A-V Automatic were given in 1964 and 65, and the Goodenough-Harris DAM in 1967 and 68. Independent judges rated subjects on the Test Behavior Rating Scale, containing 5 point subscales in the following categories: 1) Orientation to testing situation; 2) Rapport with examiner; and 3) Formal test performance. The TBRS scale was used in all years but the last, and rater reliability and comparability was never satisfactorily resolved.

Milgram found that while SB IQ was relatively stable, PPVT IQ rose appreciably. The magnitude of early and late test correlations was a function of test-retest interval and the age of the child on the first comparison test. The TBRS yielded significant sex and age differences, and the formal test performance ratings were significantly correlated with IQ scores on concurrent and later tests. The ratings did not, however, enhance multiple regression correlations for predictor and criterion IQ alone.

Costello (1970) sought to identify the effects of pretesting, race of examiner, and familiarity with examiners upon the scores of thirty-two male, and thirty female black preschoolers ranging in age from 49-60 months (mean 54) from a Chicago West Side program. The subjects were randomly assigned to pretest or not pretest conditions; thirty-seven were given the PPVT, and thirty-eight the SB, and twenty-four were given only tests of school skills. The PPVT was given again four months later, with two black examiners administering to twenty-nine of the subjects, while twenty-eight were tested by white teachers unknown to them. Four months after that the PPVT was again given with twenty-seven subjects tested by unknown whites and twenty-nine by familiar white teachers. Examiners always encouraged, supported and rewarded the children with candy after

the tests. The SB was also given nine months after the original examinations. Results showed no significant pretest/no pretest, or black/white examiner, or subject sex differences.

Quay's (1971) attempt to evaluate the effects of four conditions, 1) candy vs. praise reinforcement, and 2) standard English vs. Negro dialect presentation of the SB, upon one hundred 3 and 4 year olds from a Philadelphia Head Start project, similarly showed no reliable differences or significant interactions for any of the conditions, no sex differences or examiner bias, and no motivational difficulties appeared to exist. The performance pattern was identical for all groups at each age level, and comprehension of the standard English SB seemed unimpaired, though the subjects spoke in dialect. It would thus seem that the failure of these two studies to replicate score improvements through test-situation manipulations (cf. references by Kagan) might indicate that the problems and the manipulations needed are much more complex and cannot be so easily alleviated.

Gibby and Gabler investigated three dimensions of the intelligence facet of self-concept: 1) the self-perception of the individual; 2) the self as the individual believes others see him; and 3) the individual's ideal self. The authors' central hypothesis is that there are significant differences between similar groups of Negro and white children in self-ratings on intelligence. Fifty-six Negro and fifty-nine white 11.8 (mean age) year olds from two Atlantic City, NJ public schools were given the California Test of Mental Maturity (elementary short form) (CTMM), and the Gibby Intelligence Rating Schedule (IRS). IQ scores were obtained from school records. The hypothesis of significant Negro/white differences in self-concept was supported since: 1) Negro reality discrepancy and self-discrepancy scores were significantly greater than white, indicating that Negroes overrate their abilities, while whites are more realistic, and that whites' perceptions of how others rate them is more congruent with their self-perceptions than are blacks'; 2) Negro ideal discrepancy

scores were also greater than whites, but the difference did not reach significance; 3) the magnitude and direction of these differences were also dependent upon the sex and IQ of the child.

The authors interpret the findings as consistent with other studies showing Negro children to have higher levels of aspiration and verbalized ambitions than whites. They also feel the R-d and S-d findings support theories stating that inferior caste leads to negative self-esteem and feelings of rejection and disparagement, causing severe adjustment problems. It seems to the reviewer, however, that this interpretation with its emphasis on negative self-esteem contradicts the findings of higher levels of aspiration and verbalized ambition. A more consistent interpretation would seem to be that the hostile and denigrating attitudes of the higher castes in society (including teachers, etc.) conflict with the child's own self-concept, which might not at all be "overrated" or "unrealistic." This interpretation would also support the authors' final conclusion that caste sanctions retard development of intellectual abilities, and thus lower Negro IQ scores reflect social and cultural impingements, not biological inferiority.

Guthrie (1971) reports an experiment designed to test different forms of instruction, which seem to parallel Jensen's Level I and II, and their interaction with SES and intelligence in facilitating concept formation. Futhrie hypothesizes that verbalization of rules facilitates concept formation. Sixty-four fifth and sixth grade Negroes from three public schools whose SES had been determined by Hollingshead Occupational Scale, were divided into a 4 x 2 x 2 experimental design, with 1) IQ above or below group median of 104.5; 2) High and low SES; and 3) Four treatment conditions which varied in pretest vowel-consonant discrimination practice, rule verbalization, production of instances and rule applications for same, and concept formation. The results showed no interaction between teaching method and SES or IQ, specifically, presentation of

rules was superior to practice on the task without rules for both SES groups. Furthermore, rule application training facilitated concept formation more than rule presentation for both groups. Treatment IV, of associative learning, showed little or no learning for either group, contradicting Jensen, while verbalization of abstract rules aided the concept formation of both. Guthrie also discusses inconsistent findings in the literature on the same subject, and suggests that experiments finding rule verbalization didn't facilitate concept formation might have used problems of differing difficulty, and that interest-motivation differences for SES, are small on high interest tasks, greater on tasks of little interest. Guthrie, despite inconsistencies in the literature, concludes from his own study that the effect of IQ on concept formation is negligible.

D. Program Success

Several studies in the literature selected for review report on the effects of specific programs designed for disadvantaged black children.

Blank and Solomon (1968 and 1969) report on a one-to-one tutorial program based on the premise that the substandard performances of deprived children result from "the lack of a symbolic system by which to organize the plentiful stimulation around them." The authors feel that "total enrichment" programs are destined to failure because they simply expose the child to new stimuli, while what the child needs is active involvement with stimuli which permit "internal mental manipulation of experience." They posit four basic problems and needs: 1) A child lacks a natural firm language base for thinking and will develop one only with constant guidance; 2) There will be resistance to language acquisition, but damage can be prevented by not allowing a task to be left unfinished; 3) The short attention spans of young children necessitate relatively brief but frequent reinforcement of new

skills (i.e., 15-20 minutes per day, 5 days per week); and 4) The "new command of language will allow the child to cope more effectively with an otherwise debilitating environment. Therefore marked improvements in many aspects of maladaptive behavior should occur."

On these premises the authors developed a specialized language program, comprised of short, individual tutoring sessions, with special emphasis on a) selective attention, b) relevant inner verbalization, c) categories of exclusion, d) imagery of future events, e) separation of the world from its effects, f) models for cause and effect reasoning, g) ability to categorize, h) awareness of possessing language, and i) sustained sequential thinking.

When children from the above program were compared to children from a regular nursery school and from a tutorial program with individual sessions but no specialized training, results showed a marked gain in IQ for the group from the above program, and no significant gains for the others. In their 1969 article, the authors present two teacher-student dialogues with a four year old child, covering a three month period, and illustrating the child's growing capacity to handle and structure cognitive material. They point out that the child's IQ rose from 86 to 98 during the three month period. From both studies the author concludes that abstract thinking will never evolve naturally from "enriched environments," but rather than learning more words a child needs to know how to use them to structure and guide his thinking.

Klaus and Gray (1968) report on their Early Training Project, which attempted to fight the "progressive retardation" of deprived children by manipulating several variables that prior research had indicated were influential, including: broadening spatial and temporal organization, and the "restrictive-code" mother-child interaction; providing high adult to child ratios, high adult to child ratios, high verbal interaction, and individualized instruction; focusing on motivational-

attitude variables, such as achievement motivation, identification with achieving roles, delay of gratification, interest in school-like activities, etc.; and on cognitive development factors such as perception, concept formation and language.

The subjects admitted to the program consisted of Negro children from an Upper South City, chosen to meet criteria relating to housing, parental education and occupation. Three groups were formed: T(1) had three summers of a ten week preschool program and three years of weekly home visits; T(2) had two summers of the program and two years of the weekly home visits; T(3) was a control group, and the authors added T(4), another control, in a distant similar city. The children in each group were pre- and post-tested on a variety of tests, including the SB, WISC, ITPA, and PPVT. The treatment groups performed better than the control groups on all subtests, indicating general improvement. On tests of various attitudinal measures, differences were in the expected direction, but did not reach significance. The authors conclude that the improvements were sustained although the gains maintained over the four years were modest. All groups jumped, then declined in performance after the second year of school, but maintained their relative positions. The authors are, however, optimistic about overcoming "progressive retardation," provided massive changes in the homes and schools can be accomplished.

Zigler and Butterfield (1968) discuss three factors which influence performance on intelligence tests: "a) formal cognitive processes; b) informational achievement which reflects the context rather than the formal properties of cognition; and c) motivational factors which involve a wide range of personality variables." Feeling that the motivational factors were most important, the authors tested groups of nursery and non-nursery culturally deprived children twice in the beginning and twice at the end of the year, using standard and "optimizing" for each of the two sessions. There was also a control group to control effects due to simple test-retest factors. The

authors found no significant improvement in optimal IQ from fall to spring, but did find significant improvements in the nursery group's standard IQ toward their fall optimal IQ, while the non-nursery student showed no such change. A small increase was also found in the control groups. The authors attribute the improvement in the nursery group to motivational factors, though the basis for his conclusion is unclear to the reviewer.

Finally, Marshall and Bentler tested the effectiveness of an "innovative enrichment program" for minority children which emphasized "internalized learning" of concepts through 2-3 week tactile, dancing, eating, painting, building, molding, etc. involvement sessions to promote independent thinking in language, creative self-expression, reasoning and logic, classifying and generalizing, and social science and geography. preservation of the child's own life and language styles were also emphasized, and modified only to ease socialization. The authors tested five girls and six boys, aged four years, on the PPVT form A in 10/69 and again in 6/70. Results showed a remarkable IQ increase of 23.5 points (s.d. 9.3) from 83.9 to 107.5, which as the authors point out, can't be attributed to practice, and is much greater than reported in other studies. Nor can it be attributed to the 15 point deviation, which is across years and includes decreases. The authors conclude that the program is especially beneficial and should be studied again with a control group.

E. Concluding Remarks

1. The Jensen genetic argument seems to have been successfully thrown into serious doubt by his critics, and in his defense, Jensen claims that he was only presenting a hypothesis for further research.

2. Both the criticisms, the strength of environmental and test bias position, and the weakness of Jensen's argument tend to indicate that such a genetic hypothesis should receive lower

priority for further research than other hypotheses.

3. Even if intelligence is inherited, there is no logical or scientific reason to assume that the 15 point racial differential is also inherited. Inherited intelligence could also be normally distributed in the Afro-American and the differential results from environmental or test bias factors.

4. It would thus seem that further research on the nature of intelligence, the design of tests, environmental factors, and above all, understanding the cognitive processes of various cultures and classes as legitimate and "equal" responses to environmental factors is essential to further progress on this subject, and even for further research on genetic influences.

5. Standard sampling and administration procedures are needed if comparable results are to be obtained and the present inconsistencies and contradictions of research on subtest/SES/culture interactions are to be alleviated.

6. The design and rigorous testing of programs designed to raise the cognitive achievement of Afro-Americans is the best and only final answer to genetic-environment disputes.

7. If and when research provides a greater understanding of cognitive processes and their cultural variations, a policy decision will have to be made as to whether schools and programs should attempt to modify these toward middle class performance (assimilationist) or to recognize non-impeding differences as simply different and equally valid (pluralist). Pragmatically speaking, the reviewer feels that it will probably prove easier to make the Afro-American children cognitively bi-cultural, than to attempt to modify the social structure in the direction of greater pluralism.

8. Understanding of cognitive processes and their cultural variations is therefore crucial to all the hypotheses currently entertained, and should be accorded the highest research priority, along with the development of tests which would reliably and validly test within cultures.

IV. Toward A New Orientation In Child Development Research

From the outside looking in there are many behavior patterns among minority individuals which appear to be pathological. A good example is the following:

> Before and after Leroy and Charlene had their own child, Leroy looked after Charlene's little sisters and brothers to such an extent that both their mother and the children themselves came to rely on him. Together with Calvin, a frail and ailing forty year old alcoholic and homosexual who looked after the children in exchange for a place to live, Leroy bathed the children, braided the girls' hair, washed their clothes at the Bendix, played with them, and on their birthdays went shoplifting to get them gifts. Even more than to Leroy, the children were attached to Calvin. When he could summon the courage, Calvin often interceded on their behalf when their mother was dealing out punishment. There was little that Calvin did not do for the children. He played with them at night when they were sick. During one period, when he had resolved to stop his sexual practices... he resumed them only on those occasions when there was no food or money in the house and only long enough to get food for the children....He was proud of the part he played in their lives and he played it so well that the children took his love and support for granted.

It is clear that Calvin's infirmity provided a way to play the father-role that normality would deny to most men.

Conventional wisdom would paint a very negative and pathological picture of the environment of these children. For example, there is no father, and for another, the male figures are outcasts from society. Thus, these children are likely to develop into quite warped adults. However, if one were to functionally compare the life of these children with middle class families on every variable that has been studied it may very well be that little difference would be found. It is likely that Charlene's kids receive as much, if not more, positive reinforcement, as much cognitive stimulation (Calvin reads to them), as much love, and as much support as other children. And, if Calvin is successful enough, they may even have a reasonably good nutritional balance. Indeed they may

also develop a level of understanding and empathy for one who is societally different. The point here is that we must look to factors other than the family in trying to find the effect relevant to behavioral development - perhaps in the social institutions that perpetuate and reinforce racism.

The caution that we wish to suggest is that researchers should be less concerned with the specific forms of behavior and more with the functional effects, particularly, on the urban minority child. Concern with the former leads inevitably to a cultural ethnocentricism which is inappropriate for a science of development. Concern for the latter, while it may produce problems in interpreting the data, is likely to lead to a better and more accurate understanding of the root causes of social and personal behavior which develop later in life. The concern that these cautions have been seldom taken seriously is the original cause of our concern. There are, of course, others, and it is to these that we now turn. Three additional factors have led to our criticism of existing child development research: (1) the possible presence of a subtle ethnocentrism in social science research generally, and in psychology and education specifically; (2) emerging new data on the development of minority group children, particularly black urban poor children; and (3) biases and deficits in previous developmental psychology work. At some level, factors (2) and (3) overlap and for an appreciable time have colored new evidence relevant to the first factor. We shall return to this point later.

Before plunging deeply into the substantive material of this matter it would be well to consider a question of definition. There is growing concern in some quarters in the belief that there is something different about black children, different in the sense that the data and the principles of development derived from the research on white middle class children are likely to be of minimal usefulness in understanding same. To some, this may imply a belief in a difference of culture. And this belief may lead to a number of relatively fruitless arguments as to whether the black setting is really a different

culture from the white milieu. To get involved in an argument of this type is, we believe, time-wasting. We make no assumption of cultural integrity. As a working hypothesis, we wish to introduce the term which Osgood, Triandis, and their colleagues have used: subjective culture. By this is meant an individual's characteristic way of perceiving his social environment. Included in subjective culture are such variables as role perception, norms, value, effect, expectations of reinforcement, and behavioral intentions. Now it should be clear that measures of some of these variables will produce data in which there will be significant overlap between minority and non-minority groups. It is also likely that there will be areas of non-overlap. To the extent that there are differences, then we might expect some differences in behavior, particularly that related to child-rearing and development, and these differences may result in shifts in subjective culture as the children grow. If we approach the problem in this way, then we eliminate a number of conceptual problems which only act to impede the progress of the rest of the area. This approach also permits a focus upon appropriate empirical data which leads to better understanding of the developmental processes operating in the black milieu.

Our position, then, is an intermediate one between those who would maintain that there is no black sub-culture, and those who would maintain just the opposite position. We feel that this issue should be moved out of the realm of the armchair theorists and into the domain of empirical research. Only if the latter is done, and done well, will it be possible to develop intervention programs which are narrowly focused on variables which, if changed, will act to the betterment of the financially poor segments of our population.

Ethnocentrism in Social Science Research: Definition

Let us be clear on what is meant by ethnocentrism in Social Science Research. The meaning of this term will perhaps

be clearer if we add the qualifier Black. A working definition of the ethnocentric posture as related to a discussion of Black Americans has been set forth in a recent paper (Baratz and Baratz, 1970) as follows:

> ....We believe that the absence of a meaningful conception of Negro culture has forced the interpretation of almost all psychology's data on the Negro into two seemingly dichotomous categories - either that of biological incapacity (genetic inferiority) or social deviance and pathology (environmental deprivation).

The question can be raised here of just why Social Science Research and in particular psychology has failed to integrate relevant elements of black culture into its research and thereby earned the label ethnocentric. At least four reasons can be summoned in this regard - they are: (1) the normativistic nature of the fundamental psychological model; (2) the socio-political myths surrounding our conception of assimilation; (3) ignorance concerning the fundamental notion of culture; and (4) embarrassment of the black middle class and white liberal to deal with culturally rooted behavioral differences. Let us explicate these. The normativistic model sets us criteria of behavior against whic individuals and groups are measured. The ethnocentrism here stems from the fact that psychologists often attempt to assess behavior using criteria assumed to be universal when they are but one of the many possible cultural manifestations of human behavior. As far as socio-political myths are concerned, three American social-political beliefs have contributed to the denial of cultural difference, particularly as regards the American Negro. The first of these is the melting pot myth and its corollary, egalitarianism. Briefly, the melting pot myth held that America is the melting pot society where peoples from diverse cultures came together and created the American culture which is distinct from the individual cultures that contributed to it. American society then, according to the melting pot analogy, is said to be the result of the elimination of the impurities, along with the blending of the best elements of those diverse

cultures. The melting pot myth has aided and abetted the misinterpretation of the substance of the basic doctrine of egalitarianism: All men are created equal if they behave in the same manner. The second of these was the interpretation of certain behaviors peculiar to Negroes as evidence of genetic inferiority, for example, pattern of dress, dialect, the extended family kinship system. The final socio-political myth has been labelled the myth of the Negro past. The myth of the Negro past asserts that certain notions of Social Scientists concerning the processes of acculturation have led to the assumption that the Negro lost all of his characteristic African behaviors merely because he forcibly left Africa and resided on American soil for several generations in slavery. The myth of the Negro past has contributed to psychologists' lack of knowledge concerning the fundamental notion of culture. Indeed Glazer and Moynihan (1963) have stated: "The Negro is only an American and nothing else. He has no values and culture to guard and protect...." The crux of the matter then seems to revolve around the psychologists' notion of cultural differences. As noted earlier, psychologists have traditionally viewed difference in terms of a universalistic norm. The anthropologist, on the other hand, views cultural difference as an indication of the various ways different people have chosen to define their world.

Ignorance of the true meaning of culture has contributed to the black middle class, as well as the white liberal's embarassment to deal with behavioral differences. The assumption underlying this behavior is a fear - a fear that such discussions will be used maliciously by racists to support their theories of Negro inferiority.

Then an ethnocentric posture can be detected in psychological research. This posture exists largely because of the absence of a meaningful conception of Negro culture. Consequently, almost all psychological data on the Negro has been interpreted as supporting either genetic inferiority, or social deviance and pathology. Psychology has failed to integrate relevant

elements of black culture into its research because of (1) the normativistic nature of the fundamental psychological model; (2) the socio-political myths surrounding our conception of assimilation; (3) ignorance concerning the fundamental notion of culture; and (4) embarrassment of the black middle class and the white liberal to deal with culturally rooted behavioral differences. But, a potential remedy resides in a full exploitation of the notion of cultural difference, as well as cultural pluralism.

The recent Social Science literature reveals two pieces of research relevant to our concern about the kind of research needed for an appropriate understanding of the minority milieu, particularly the Black one. These are the works of Robert Hill on the Black Family and that of Michael Cole on the Cultural Context of Learning and Thinking. Let us turn to these.

When stating his position concerning the black family, Hill notes the following:

> Most discussions of black families in the literature tend to focus on indicators of instability, disintegration, weakness or pathology....Despite the absence of data in Frazier's works, for example, indicating the representatives of the disorganized patterns in lower-class culture, social scientists such as Glazer and Moynihan continue to portray low-income black family life as typically disorganized, pathological and disintegrating. Others assert that a self-perpetuating culture of poverty exists among blacks.

Moreover,

> The great majority of black families for example, are not characterized by criminality, delinquency, drug addiction or desertion....We do not view the Negro family as a causal nexus in a tangle of pathology which feeds on itself. Rather, we view the Negro family in theoretical perspective as a sub-system of the larger society. It is, in our view, an absorbing, adaptive, and amazingly resilient mechanism for the socialization of its children and the civilization of its society.

Then, Hill's starting point regarding the black family is to look at its strengths. To look at those characteristics of black life style that have contributed to the survival of

the black family. Perhaps it would be well to note how Hill defines family strengths. His definition is the following:

> ...define as family strengths those traits which facilitate the ability of the family to meet the needs of its members and the demands made upon it by systems outside the family unit. They are necessary for the survival and maintenance of effective family networks.

Drawing on the discussion of Otto wherein he lists the ability to provide for the physical, emotional and spiritual needs of a family, a concern for family unity, loyalty and inter-family cooperation, an ability to establish and maintain growth-producing relationships within and without the family, an ability for self-help and the ability to accept help when appropriate, and an ability to perform family roles flexibly, as traits bespeaking a strong family, Hill has examined the literature on black families and found five characteristics that have been functional for their survival, development and stability. The five characteristics can be delineated as follows: (1) strong kinship bonds; (2) strong work orientation; (3) adaptability of family roles; (4) strong achievement orientation; and (5) strong religious orientation.

Strong kinship bonds are reflected in several ways in the black family. Black families have traditionally absorbed minors and the elderly. Most recent census data reveals that black families are much more likely than white families to take in other young related members. In husband-wife families, only three percent of white families compared to 13 percent of black families took in relatives under 18. In families headed by a woman, the black families demonstrate an even greater tendency to absorb other related children. Forty-one percent of then, compared to only seven percent of similarly-situated white women, had relatives under 18 living with them. But the families headed by elderly women take in the highest proportion of children. Moreover, a perusal of the literature reveals that extended family relationships have historically been greater among blacks than whites. Indeed, at the turn of the century, doubling-up was a common occurrence in black families, particu-

larly among new arrivals to urban areas. A system of informal adoption has served to strengthen the kinship bonds among black families. Hill notes that:

> while two-thirds of the white babies born out of wedlock in 1968 were adopted or placed in foster homes or institutions a year later, only seven percent of the black babies born out of wedlock were formally adopted or placed. If we equate the increase in new families headed by a single female between 1968-1969 with the birth of these out of wedlock children, we can account for another one-fourth of the white babies, but only three percent of the black babies. This leaves ninety percent of the black babies and only seven percent of the white babies to be informally adopted or retained by already existing families.

Hill further notes that the illegitimacy rates among blacks have been steadily declining; on the other hand, they have continued to climb for whites. The illegitimacy rate among whites increased from 9.2 to 13.2 between 1960 and 1968, while the rate among blacks declined from 98.8 to 86.6 over the same period.

Black families can also be characterized by a strong work orientation. The black poor, for example, are still more likely to work than the white poor - three-fifths of the black poor work, compared to about half of the white poor. The work orientation as a strength can be seen further in the presence of a working wife in the majority of black families. It has been estimated that about two-thirds of the wives in black families work, compared to only half of the wives in white families. It is well to note that although blacks are twice as likely as whites to be unemployed, studies of employment histories in black communities reveal a high degree of job stability among the majority of black men. Recent data comparing black and white male workers found that eighty percent of the blacks compared to sixty percent of the whites had held their current jobs for at least three years. And almost one-half of the blacks, but only a third of the whites had held their jobs for ten years or more.

Contrary to the common stereotype of the black family as

matriarchal, Hill's data suggest that most black families, whether low-income or not, are characterized by an equalitarian pattern in which neither spouse dominates, but share decision-making and the performance of expected tasks. Moreover, states Hill, national earnings data do not support the popular conception that wives earnings in most low-income black families are often greater than the husbands. Recent Bureau of Labor Statistics data indicate that in 85 percent of the black families with incomes under $3,000, the husband's earnings surpassed the wife's. Thus, contrary to the stereotypes of black men as weak, irresponsible, and peripheral, the husband is the main provider in the overwhelming majority of black families whether low-income or not.

Contrary to the belief that dependency is characteristic of most families headed by women, recent Census Bureau data indicate that two-thirds of the women heading black families work - most of them full-time. Further, Hill notes that assertions about widespread desertion in black families are not based on actual desertion rates. Recent HEW data reveal that not even the majority of AFDC families can be characterized as deserted - a mere one-fifth of the black families receiving AFDC in 1969 were so described.

A final strength of the black family is its traditional orientation toward achievement. This strength can be seen in the large numbers of college students from these families. A demonstration of this is the fact that in recent years, three-fourths of the blacks enrolled in college came from homes in which the family heads had no college education.

Then, it can be observed that Hill's interpretation of the black family does not coincide with previous ones, e.g., Moynihan. Perhaps, primarily because his starting point for a discussion of the black family is different. By beginning from the position of what keeps the black family going in terms of the unique pressures bearing upon it, Hill avoids a portrayal of the black family as disorganized, pathological and disintegrating. It is this style of starting where the

phenomenon is, as opposed to where one thinks that it should be that fundamentally renders Hill's investigation non-ethnocentric in contrast to others.

In short, his work exemplifies how research in areas crucial for an understanding of child development can contribute to the establishment of a collective ideology; wherein, for each individual and group of individuals respect for each culture is the dominant motif. An example of another piece of research meeting these criteria is also at hand.

In 1971, Michael Cole published an account of his pioneering in Liberia on The Cultural Context of Learning and Thinking. Addressing himself to the fundamental question: how do peoples' thought processes relate to the culture in which they are raised and in which they live?, this researcher conducted a series of experiments that took into account the cultural context in which the Liberians lived and moved. How?

Cole's concern with the relevance of the cultural context for experimentation led him to a study of the language of a group of Liberians called the Kpelle. Focusing on the classification of antural-world objects in the Kpelle noun system, he attempted to get some sure foundation from which to evaluate the anthropologist's claim of presumed differences in the way two cultural groups classify some areas of experience.

A detailed look at the way in which this was done will be instructive for us. The first step was to elicit specific examples of things in order to obtain a taxonomy for the term. Using an open-ended procedure such as the following:

> _____ is a _____. In some uses of this question, the first slot was filled by the name of an object and the second with a question word, as for example, banana is a what? Answered by, for example, banana is a food. In others the object name was in the second slot and a question word in the first slot, as for example, a what is food? Answered by, for example, a banana is food...,

two broad classes of things were elicited, namely town and forest.

Because an accurate assessment of fundamental categorical

structures of materials to be used in the research was of paramount importance, Cole's second step was to do a detailed study of noun classes. This was done by taking class names from the newly constructed thing chart and using them in conjunction with a number of traditional psychological procedures, for example, sentence substitution, free association, sorting, etc.

Then, Cole offers a viable alternative to existing methodological procedures in psychology and education. Essentially, he differs from many in that he did not begin with a predetermined formula, but rather developed one from within the Liberian culture. Cole differs from Hill in that he offers an alternative approach to investigating cultural differences; whereas, Hill only uses existing data to draw conclusions that differ from prior ones.

Conclusions

Having reviewed and criticized some research in three key areas, it is incumbent upon us to recommend guidelines for the improvement of research relating to Black Americans. Drawing upon some recent work by Hall and Landis (1974), we submit the following list as constructive guidelines when researching non-white minorities:

1. Whenever a researcher sets out to study members of a social/racial/linguistic/cultural group different from his own, he should assure himself that the questions he asks reflect the typical ways of behaving within that group.

2. When engaging in research on other groups, the researcher should be careful to reduce or eliminate perceived cultural contrasts on the part of the subjects.

3. When engaging in research on minority children, care should be taken to build in, as independent variables, those cultural factors which are likely to moderate the behavior being studied.

4. Before deciding to study a bit of behavior which some categorize as maladaptive, the researcher should attempt, through whatever sources are available, to sketch the adaptive history of the behavior.

5. In identifying the racial characteristics of the subjects in a research project, the researcher should present data on the precise cultural differences between the groups in the study.

6. The subjective culture characteristics of the experimenter should be specified as well as the usual demographic characteristics. Every effort should be made to maximize the amount of subjective culture overlap between experimenter and child.

7. To whatever extent possible, researchers should design their studies to be the first step in a programmatic effort.

8. In designing research on minority children, alternative response modes linked to distinct theoretical propositions should be provided. Wherever possible, such modes should be structured so

that the individual subject has options in the method of responding.

SUMMARY

Summary

This report has reviewed both the theoretical concepts of racism and the ways in which the concepts have been played out in policy. The theoretical explications and empirical findings of this report cannot and should not be briefly summarized. It seems clear that racism exists institutionally as regards both OCD and much of child development research. The recommendations made herein are not only specific to parts of certain child development and child care programs, but extend to the basic cultural assumptions made by the dominant white majority in this society. Although there are many short-term measures which can and should be undertaken, institutional racism will continue until ethnocentric cultural assumptions can be changed to assumptions which consider a truly pluralistic society. Until such a time, racism, personal and institutional, will exist on all levels of policy-making, programming, research, and evaluation.

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